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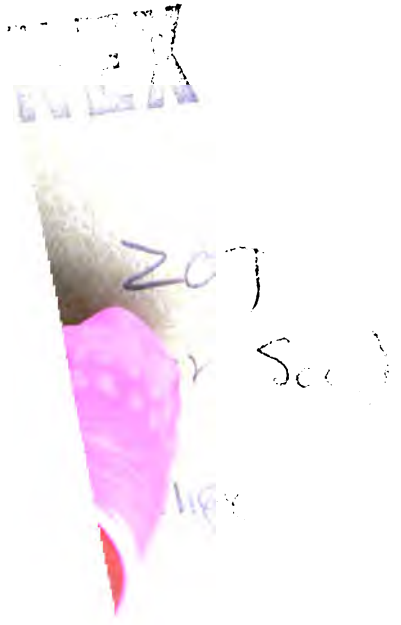
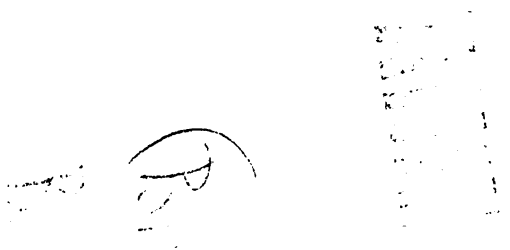
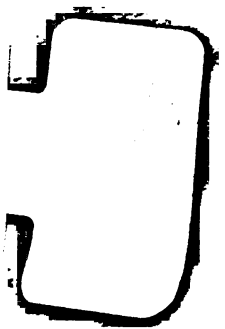




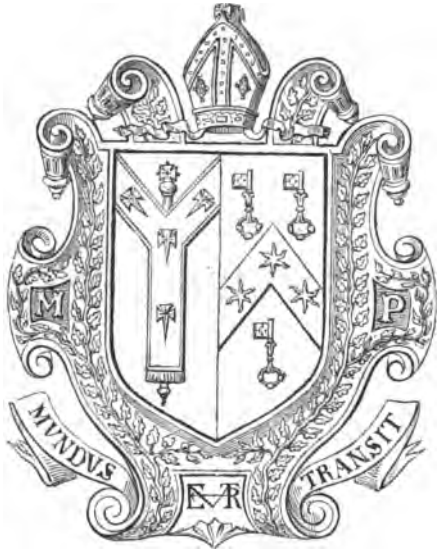


ANNEX

BULLINGER'S DECADES.

The Parker Society.

Instituted A.D. M.DCCC.XL.



For the Publication of the Works of the Fathers and Early Writers of the Reformed English Church.

THE DECADES

OF

HENRY BULLINGER,

MINISTER OF THE CHURCH OF ZURICH.

TRANSLATED BY H. I.

THE THIRD DECADE.

EDITED FOR

The Parker Society,

BY THE

REV. THOMAS HARDING, A.M.,

OF WORCESTER COLLEGE, OXFORD, AND VICAR OF BEXLEY, IN KENT.

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ERRATA AND ADDENDA.

IN VOLUME I.

Advertisement, p. viii. line 27, for *Œcolampadius* read *Zuingle.*

Page 2. In the Fac-Simile Title-page the N. B. should have been rather: "This triple table is in the editions of 1577 and 1584 *prefixed*, but in that of 1587 *affixed*, to the Decades."

60, note 1, substitute: "Apostles, edd. 1577 and 1587. The reading *Apostle* is in ed. 1584. Apostoli, Lat."

83, note 8. Bullinger's quotation here seems to have been from Erasmus, Opp. Tom. v. coll. 1078, 9. Lugd. Bat. 1704.

82, note 3,
99, — 11,
110, — 2,
421, — 7,
} for "1587" read "edd. 1584 and 1587."

152, — 1, for "in ed. 1577" read "in edd. 1577, 1584, and 1587."

IN VOLUME II.

Page 30, note 2, after "wanting in"
80, — 2, — "but in"
142, — 1, — "ed."
199, — 5, — —
} add "1584 and."

41, — 3, read "page 33."

53, — 4, — "page 30."

59, line 18, for *faint* read *feint.*

69, — 7, dele comma at "what"

73, — 17, ———— at "it"

76, — 22, ———— at "enough"

95, — 18, dele 4 at "Christ," and add it at "present," l. 20.

ib. note 4, for *præsentissimum* read *præsentissimam.*

96, line 18, dele comma at "Jesus"

110, note 3, read "page 79"

116, — 1, for xi. read xix. and after "fol. 8, 9" add "14, &c."

135, line 33, for "be" read "he"

145, — 1,
150, — 32,
} at "temple" add a colon.

153, note 8, add "See above page 45, note 7."

163, line 3, for "holy" read "only."

ib. dele note 6.

164, note 2, read "page 179."

173, — 5, — "page 141."

179, — 6, — "page 172."

197, — 5, — "page 165, note 9."

234, line 21, dele comma at "done"

248, — 19, for "after flesh" read "after the flesh."

ib. — 20, after "called" add a comma.

ib. note 4, read "page 256, note 5."

BULLINGER'S DECADES.

thing but truth, or seduce any man out of the right way. The Wisdom of the Father doth in the holy gospel cry out and say: "I am the light of the world: he that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life." This eternal wisdom of God, as it doth not disorderly wrap things up together and make them intricate, but layeth down in order and teacheth them plainly; so it doth not only minister wholesome counsels, but bringeth them to the effect which they wish that obey her. Oftentimes, verily, men do give good counsels, that are not unwholesome; but yet in their counsels that is altogether omitted, which should have been first and especially mentioned.

[John viii. 12.]

All the wise men almost of the world have been of opinion, that kings and kingdoms should be most happy, if the king of the country be a wise man; if he have many wise, aged, faithful, and skilful counsellors; if his captains be valiant, warlike, and fortunate in battle; if he abound with substance; if his kingdom be on every side surely fortified; and lastly, if his people be of one mind and obedient. All this I confess is truly, rightly, and very wisely spoken: but yet there is another singular and most excellent thing, which is not here reckoned among these necessaries, without which no true felicity can be attained, nor, being once gotten, can safely be kept; when as contrarily, where that one thing is present, all those other necessaries do of their own[1] accord fall unto men, as they themselves can best wish or devise. The Lord our God therefore, who is the only giver of wise and perfect counsels, doth far more briefly and better shut up all shortly, and say in the gospel: "But seek ye first rather the kingdom of God, and the righteousness thereof, and all these things shall easily be given[2] unto you." Again, "Blessed are the eyes which see that ye see: for I say unto you, that many kings and prophets have wished to see the things that ye see, and to hear the things that ye hear, and have neither heard nor seen them." And again, "Nay rather, blessed are they that hear the word of God, and keep it." And this thing[3] above all other is very necessary: "Mary hath chosen the good part, which shall not be taken from her."

Matt. vi.

Luke x.

Luke xi.

[Luke x. 42.]

From whence issueth the

Having my warrant therefore out of the word of God, I

[1 *own* wanting in 1587.] [2 adjicientur, Lat.]
[3 this one thing, 1577.]

dare boldly avow, that those kings shall flourish and be in happy case, which wholly give and submit themselves and their kingdoms to Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, being King of kings, and Lord of lords; acknowledging him to be the mightiest prince and monarch of all, and themselves his vassals, subjects, and servants: which, finally, do not follow in all their affairs their own mind and judgment, the laws of men that are contrary to God's commandments, or the good intents of mortal men; but do both themselves follow the very laws of the mightiest king and monarch[4], and also cause them to be followed throughout all their kingdom, reforming both themselves and all theirs at and by the rule of God's holy word. For in so doing the kingdom shall flourish in peace and tranquillity, and the kings thereof shall be most wealthy, victorious, long-lived, and happy. For thus speaketh the mouth of the Lord, which cannot possibly lie: "When the king sitteth upon the seat of his kingdom, he shall take the book of the law of God, that he may read in it all the days of his life, that he may do it, and not decline from it either to the right hand or to the left; but that he may prolong the days in his kingdom both of his own life and of his children." And again, "Let not the book of this law depart out of thy mouth," (Josue, or thou, whatsoever thou art that hast a kingdom), "but occupy thy mind therein day and night, that thou mayest observe and do according to all that is written therein: for then shalt thou make thy way prosperous, and then shalt thou be happy." It is assuredly true, therefore, confirmed by the testimony of the most true God, and in express words pronounced, that the prosperity of kings and kingdoms consisteth in true faith, diligent hearing, and faithful obeying the word or law of God: whereas their calamity and utter overthrow doth follow the contrary.

felicity or calamity of kings and kingdoms.

Deut. xvii.

Josh. i.

This will I make, as my promise is, in this annexed demonstration, both evident to the eyes, and as it were palpable to the very hands, by the examples of most mighty kings, not taken out of Herodotus or any profane author, but out of the infallible history of the most sacred scriptures. Saul, the first king of Israel, was both most fortunate and victorious, so long as he did in all things follow the word of God: but when he

Saul.

[4 æterni, Lat. *eternal* monarch, ed. 1577.]

once gave place to his own good intents and meaning, being utterly forsaken of the Lord, he heareth Samuel say to his face: "Thou hast refused and cast off the word of the Lord; therefore hath God also cast thee away, that thou shalt not be king of Israel." I will not here stand over largely to declare the miseries and calamities, wherein he was wrapped from that time forward. For as he himself was horribly haunted and vexed with the evil spirit, so did he not cease to vex and torment his people and kingdom, until he had brought them all into extreme danger, where he and some of his were slain and put to the worst by the heathen, their enemies, leaving nothing behind him but a perpetual shame and endless ignominy. Next after Saul doth David succeed in the seat and kingdom, who without all controversy was the most happiest of all other kings and princes. But what store he did set by the word of the Lord, it is evident to be seen by many notable acts of his, and especially in that alphabetical psalm, which in order and number is the hundredth and nineteenth[1]: for therein he setteth forth the praise of God's word, the wholesome virtue whereof he doth at large wonderfully expound, in teaching what great desire and zeal we ought to have thereto. For he was schooled and had learned before, by private mishaps and shameful deeds, and lastly, by the unhappy sedition of his graceless son Absolon, what an evil it is to decline from the word of the Lord. Salomon, the son of David, the wisest and most commended king of all the world, did so long enjoy prosperity and praise at the mouth of the Lord, as he did not neglect with reverence to obey his word. But when once he had transgressed the Lord's commandment, straightway the Lord did say unto him: "Forasmuch as this is done of thee, and that thou hast not kept mine ordinances and my statutes, which I commanded thee, I will rend thy kingdom from thee, and will give it to thy servant." And now mark, that, according to that saying, immediately after Salomon's death the kingdom was rent into two parts, and

1 Sam. xiii. xiv. xv. &c.

Solomon. 1 Kings iv. & xi.

[1 This Psalm is divided (probably for the advantage of memory), according to the number of letters which compose the Hebrew Alphabet, into twenty-two portions, of eight verses each; and not only every portion, but every verse of that portion, begins with the letter appropriated to it. See Bp Horne, Comment. on Psalms, Argum. to Psalm cxix.]

that ten tribes followed Jeroboam, the servant of Salomon; two tribes clave still to Roboam, Salomon's son. He, for neglecting the word of the Lord, and following after strange gods, is overwhelmed with an infinite number of woful miseries: for the scripture testifieth, that the Egyptians came up against Hierusalem, and did destroy the city, palace, and temple of the Lord. Roboam. 2 Chron. xii.

Abia, the son of Roboam, overcame the host of Israel, and bare away a triumphant victory, when he had wounded and slain five hundred thousand men of the ten tribes of Israel: and of this so great a victory no other cause is mentioned, but because he believed the word of the Lord. Next after Abia did his son Asa, a renowned and most puissant king, reign in his stead; of whom the holy scripture testifieth, that he abolished all superstition, and did restore sincere religion according to the word of God: whereby he obtained a most flourishing kingdom in peace and quietness by the space of forty years. Again, of Josaphat, Asa his son, we read: "The Lord was with Josaphat, because he walked in the former ways of his father David, and sought not Baalim, but sought the God of his father, and walked in his commandment." And therefore for his prince-like wealth and famous victories he was renowned through all the world. But to his son Joram, who forsook the word of God, Helias the prophet said: "Because thou hast not walked in the ways of Josaphat thy father, and in the ways of king Asa, but hast walked the ways of the kings of Israel; behold, with a great plague will the Lord smite thy folk, thy children, thy wives, and all thy goods; and thou shalt suffer great pain, even a disease of the bowels, until thy bowels[2] fall out." And whatsoever the Lord threatened to bring upon him by the mouth of the prophet, that did the unhappy king feel with unspeakable torments to his great reproaches: being made an example of wretchedness and misery, which doth light on all the pates of them that do forsake the word of God. Neither was the hap of Ochosias[3], son to king Joram and Athalia, in any point better: for at the commandment of Jehu he was stabbed in, and slain wretchedly; because he chose rather to follow the laws and rites of the kings of Israel than the very Abia. 2 Chron. xiii. Asa. 2 Chron. xiv. Josaphat. 2 Chron. xvii. Joram. 2 Chron. xxi. Ochosias. 2 Kings ix.

[2 Substituted for another word used by the translator.]
[3 Abaziah.]

Joas. 2 Chron. xxiii. xxiv.

true laws of the Lord his God. Moreover Joas, a child yet but seven years old, being by the labour, faith, and diligence of the faithful priest Joiada restored to and settled in the place of his father, who was slain before him, reigned, after the wicked Athalia was put to death, most happily and in a prosperous state, so long as Joiada the priest did live[1]. But when the high priest was once departed out of this world unto the Lord, the king, being immediately seduced by the malice and wiliness of his wicked counsellors, left off to follow the word of the Lord: and as he ceased to follow the Lord, so did felicity and glory forsake to follow him. For the Syrians, coming on with a very small power of armed men, do destroy and put to flight an infinite host of Jewish people; they put to the sword all Joas his counsellors, and make a spoil of all his kingdom. And Joas, for rejecting the Lord, deserved with excessive grief first to behold this misery, then to pine away with a long consuming sickness, and lastly, upon his bed, to have his throat cruelly cut of his own household servants.

Amasias. 2 Chron. xxv.

Amasias[2], the son of Joas, is renowned for a famous victory which he obtained upon the Idumites, for no other cause but for obeying the word of the Lord. But afterward, when he began to rebel against God and his prophets, he is in battle vanquished by Joas, king of Israel; by whom when he was spoiled, and compelled to see the overthrow of a great part of the walls of Hierusalem, he was himself at the last by conspirators entrapped, and miserably murdered. Next after him succeeded his son Osias[3], who also, as well as the father, enjoyed a singular felicity and most happy life, so long as he gainsaid not the mouth of God: but when he would usurp and take upon him that office, which God had properly appointed to the Levites alone, directly opposing himself against the word of the Lord, he was stricken with a leprosy, and for his uncleanness was compelled severally[4] to dwell aloof in banishment from the company of men, even until his last and dying day.

Osias. 2 Chron. xxvi.

Jotham. 2 Chron xxvii.

Jotham also, the son of Osias, is reported to have been wealthy and victorious in his wars: the cause of this felicity

[1 Hujus enim suggestione et vigilantia ad normam verbi Domini in omnibus respexit rex, Lat. omitted by the translator. For by his instructions and watchful superintendence the king had regard in all things to the rule of the Lord's word.]

[2 Amaziah.] [3 Uzziah.] [4 severally, apart.]

the scripture doth briefly add, and say: "Jotham became mighty, because he directed his ways before the Lord his God." But contrarily, Achaz, the son of Jotham, as he was of all the Jewish kings almost the wickedest, so was he in his life the most unfortunate. For insomuch as he forsook the law of the Lord his God, the Lord delivered both him and his people first into the hands of the king of Syrians, and afterward into the hands of the Israelites, who in one day slew one hundred and twenty thousand Jews, and took captive away with them two hundred thousand women and children. So Achaz himself, and all that were his, by feeling had proof of all kind of calamities, being made an example to terrify all other that do gainsay the word of God.

Achaz. 2 Chron. xxviii.

The good and godly king Ezechias succeeded his ungodly father in the seat and kingdom. Of him we have this testimony in the scripture: "He did that which was right in the sight of the Lord, according to all that his father David did. He put away the high places, and brake the images, and cut down the groves, and all-to[5] brake the brasen serpent which Moses had made: for unto those days the children of Israel burnt sacrifice to it. He trusted in the Lord God of Israel. For he clave to the Lord, and departed not from him, but kept his commandments, which the Lord commanded Moses." And now, let us hear what followed upon this obedience and faith of his. The scripture goeth forward, and saith: "And the Lord was with him, so that he prospered in all things that he took in hand." While he did reign, the most ancient and puissant monarchy of the Assyrians was broken and diminished: for when Senacherib, king of Assyria, besieged the city of Jerusalem, the angel of the Lord in one night slew in the Assyrian camp one hundred fourscore and five thousand soldiers. And the king of Babylon also did very honourably by his ambassadors send prince-like gifts unto Ezechias, desiring earnestly his amity and friendship: for the glory of that most godly king was blown abroad, and known in all the world. Again, when his son Manasses, a very wicked man, did not tread the path and express the deeds of his most holy father, but, being made king in the twelfth year of his age, did of purpose cross the word of God, and brought in again all the superstition which his father had abolished, he was taken

Hezechiah. 2 Kings xviii.

Manasses. 2 Kings xxi.

[5 all-to: entirely.]

captive and carried away to Babylon: and although, by the goodness and mercy of God, he was restored to his seat again, yet, when he died, he left a maimed and a troublesome kingdom unto his son Ammon; who also, for his rebelling against the word of God, as a most unfortunate man reigned but two years only, and was at the last wretchedly slain by his own household servants.

Ammon. 2 Kings xxi.

Josias. 2 Kings xxii.

In place of his murdered father was his son Josias settled in the kingdom, being, when he was crowned, a child but eight years old. Of all the kings of Juda he was the flower and especial crown. He reigned quietly and in all points most happily by the space of one and thirty years. Now the scripture, which cannot lie, doth paint out to our eyes the faith and obedience which he did devoutly shew to the word of God, for which that felicity did accompany his kingdom. He was nothing moved with the admonitions of his father Ammon's counsellors; but so soon as he had heard the words of the law read out of the book, which Helkia the high priest found in the temple at Hierusalem, he straightway committed himself wholly to God and his word. Neither stayed he to look for the minds and reformations of other kings and kingdoms; but, quickly forecasting the best for his people, he began to reform the corrupted religion, which he did especially in the eighteenth year of his age. And in that reformation he had a regard always to follow the meaning of the holy scripture alone, and not to give ear to the deeds of his predecessors, to the prescribed order of long continuance, nor to the common voices of the greatest multitude. For he assembled his people together, before whom he laid open the book of God's law, and appointed all things to be ordained according to the rule of his written word. And thereupon it cometh which we find written, that he spared not the ancient temples and long accustomed rites, which Solomon and Jeroboam had erected and ordained against the word of God. To be short, this king Josias pulled down, and overthrew, whatsoever was set up in the church or kingdom of Juda against the word of God. And lest, peradventure, any one should cavil and say, that he was over hardy and too rough in his dealings, the scripture giveth this testimony of him, and saith: "Like unto him was there no king before him, which turned to the Lord with all his heart, with all his soul, and all his might, according to all the

law of Moses: neither after him arose there any such as he." Whereas we read therefore, that this so commended and most fortunate king was overcome and slain in a foughten battle, that death of his is to be counted a part of his felicity, and not of his misery. For the Lord himself said to Josias: "I will gather thee unto thy fathers, and in peace shalt thou be buried, that thine eyes may not see all the evil which I will bring upon this place." For there is no greater argument, that the people and very princes of the kingdom under that most holy king were mere hypocrites and idolaters, than for because, next and immediately after his death, both his sons and peers, rejecting the word of God, did bring in again all superstition and blasphemous wickedness. Whereupon we read that for the whole twenty-two years, wherein the kings of Juda did reign after the death of Josias, there was no peace or quietness in Hierusalem, but perpetual seditions and most bloody murders. Next after Josias reigned his son Joachas: but within three months after he was taken, bound, and led captive away into the land of Egypt. After the leading away of Joachas, his brother Joachim ware the crown: who in the eleventh year of his reign, being bound in chains, was slain by Nabuchodonoser, and lastly (as Jeremy saith) was buried in the sepulchre of an ass[1]. In Joachim's stead was his son Jechonias set up; but, about three months after, he with his princes and substance was taken captive and led away to Babylon. After him the kingdom was given to Zedechias, the son of Josias: but, because he would not obey the word of God preached by the prophet Jeremy, he loseth both his life and kingdom in the eleventh year of his reign: in whose time also the temple is set of fire, Hierusalem[2] is sacked, and the people slain for the most part, or led away captive. Thus much hitherto touching the kings of Juda. For in Zedechias both the kingdom and majesty or dignity thereof did fail and make an end.

[2 Kings xxii. 18—20.]

Joachas. Joachim. Jechonias & Zedechias.

[2 Kings xxiii. xxiv. xxv.]

[Jer. xxii. 18, 19.]

To these if we add the ends and destinies of the kings of Israel, we shall again be compelled to confess, that all felicity of kings and kingdoms do consist in hearing and following the word of God; and that contrarily, calamities and miseries do rise by the contempt and neglecting of the same. For Jero-

The kings of Israel.

[1 sepultura asini, Lat.]

[2 sedes regni vetustissima, Lat. omitted: the most ancient seat of the kingdom.]

boam, the first king of the separated Israelites, letting pass the word of God, did ordain new rites to worship the Lord by, and erected new temples; but by so doing he overthrew himself, his house, and all his kingdom. After him doth Baasa succeed both in the kingdom and idolatrous religion, which was the cause why he and his were utterly destroyed. Then followeth Amri, the father of Achab; who, for augmenting idolatrous impiety, is horribly slain with all his family, so that not one of his escaped the revenging sword of God's anger and jealousy. And for because Jehu was faithful and valiant in killing those tyrants, in dispatching Baal's priests, and rooting out of idolatrous superstition, the Lord doth promise, and say unto him: "Because thou hast zealously done that which thou hast done, according to all that is right in my sight[1], therefore shall thy children, unto the fourth generation, sit on the seat of Israel." And we read verily, that his sons and nephews were notable princes, which succeeded in the kingdom, even Joachas, Joas, Jeroboam the second of that name, and Zacharias. The other kings, as Sellum, Manahe[2], Pekaiah, Peka, and Osee, had their kingdom altogether like to the kingdom of the son of Josias, to wit, in a seditious, troublesome, and a most miserable taking. For they despised the mouth of the Lord: therefore were they utterly cut off, and for the most part either slain, or carried away captive, by their enemies the Assyrians. From the division of the people into two several kingdoms after the death of Solomon, there were in number nineteen kings of Israel, and eighteen of Juda. The kings of Israel altogether reigned about two hundred and seventy-two years, and they of Juda about three hundred and ninety-three[3]. Now by the space of so many years, in the most renowned and peculiar people of God, which was as it were a glass set before the eyes of all nations to view and behold themselves in, there might the truest causes of felicity and calamities of all kings and kingdoms in the whole world be so lively represented and perfectly painted, that there

[1 Kings xii. —xv.]

[1 Kings xv. 33, 34, and xvi. 1—14.] [1 Kings xvi. 25—28.]

[2 Kings x. 30.]

[2 Kings xii —xiv.]

[2 Kings xv. and xvii.]

[1 juxta omnia quæ fuerunt in corde meo, Lat.]

[2 Manahem, Lat.]

[3 Strictly speaking, the number of the kings of Judah was 19,—not including Athaliah's usurpation. According to Usher, the kingdom of Judah lasted 388 years; and the kingdom of Israel 254 years. Annal. Vet. Test.]

should be no need to fetch from elsewhere a more plain and evident demonstration of the same.

And yet for all that, we are not without other foreign examples, whereby to prove it. For the Pharaos of Egypt were the destruction both to themselves and also to their[4] kingdom, by[5] their stubborn rebellion against God's word. Again, Darius Priscus[6] and the great Nabuchodonosor enjoyed no small felicity, because they despised not the counsels of Daniel. Balthasar, king of Babylon, a despiteful contemner of God and his word, is in one night destroyed with all his power: Babylon, the most ancient and famous city of the world, is taken, set on fire, sacked, and overthrown, and the kingdom translated to the Medes and Persians. [Dan. iv—vi.] Neither were the kings of Persia unfortunate at all, I mean, Cyrus, and Darius, otherwise called Artaxerxes[7]; because they favoured the word of God, and did promote his people and true religion. But on the other side we read that Antiochus, surnamed[8] Epiphanes, was most unfortunate; who, as it were, making war with God himself, did most wickedly burn and make away the books of holy scripture[9]. Furthermore, we have as great store of examples, also, even out of those histories which followed immediately the time of Christ his ascension. For so many Roman emperors, kings, and princes as persecuted the preaching of the Gospel and Church of our Lord Jesus Christ, and advanced idolatry and superstitious blasphemy, so many, I say, did die a foul and shameful death. Of this are Eusebius and Orosius, renowned historiographers, assured witnesses[10]. Again, St Augustine, Lib. v. *de Civit. Dei*, affirmeth, that incredible victories, very great glory, and most absolute felicity hath been given by God unto those kings, which have in faith sincerely embraced

Foreign kings.

Kings which favoured God's word, and kings which persecuted the same.

[4 vetustissimum, Lat.; omitted by the translator:—most ancient.]

[5 sola, Lat.; omitted by the translator: by nothing but by their rebellion.]

[6 i. e., Darius the Mede, or Cyaxares the second, uncle of Cyrus. Bulling. in Apocalyps. Serm. LXXI. See also Vol. I. p. 51. n. 3.]

[7 See Vol. I. p. 318, note 1.]

[8 licet cognominatus, Lat; although surnamed.]

[9 1 Maccab. i. 20—57. Prideaux's Connection, Vol. II. pp. 172—188, ed. Mc Caul. Lond. 1845.]

[10 Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Lib. VIII. cap. 16. Oros. adv. Pagan. Hist. Lib. VII. capp. 7, 22, &c.]

Christ their Lord, and utterly subverted idolatry and superstitious blasphemy[1]. It is evident therefore, that felicity cometh by good-will and obedience to the word of God, and that all kings and kingdoms shall be unhappy, which forsake the word of God, and turn themselves to men's inventions. And this I have, I trust, declared hitherto so plainly, that the hearers may seem not only to understand, but also to see before their eyes, and as it were to feel with their hands, the pith and material substance of this whole treatise.

But whereunto doth all this tend? That your royal Majesty, forsooth, may undoubtingly know, and be assuredly persuaded, that true felicity is gotten and retained by faithful study in the word of God: to wit, if you submit yourself altogether and your whole kingdom to Christ, the chief and highest prince; if, throughout your whole realm, you dispose and order religion, and all matters of justice, according to the rule of God's holy word; if you decline not one hair's breadth from that rule, but study to advance the kingdom of Christ, and go on (as hitherto you have happily begun) to subvert and tread under foot the usurped power of that tyrannical antichrist. Not that your Majesty needeth any whit at all mine admonitions or instructions: for you have undoubtedly that heavenly teacher in your mind (I mean, the Holy Ghost[2]), which inspireth you with the very true doctrine of sincere and true religion. Your Majesty hath the sacred Bible, the holiest book of all books, wherein, as in a perfect rule, the whole matter of piety and our true salvation is absolutely contained and plainly set down[3]. Your Majesty hath noble men, and many counsellors, belonging to your kingdom, faithful, valiant, and skilful heads both in the law of God and men, who for their wisdom and love that they bear to the sincere truth are greatly commended among foreign nations. And for that cause all the faithful do think and call your Majesty most happy. But that happy king Ezechias, although

[1 Aug. de Civit. Dei, Lib. v. cap. 24. Quæ sit Christianorum imperatorum, et quam vera felicitas. See also Vol. I. p. 385, n. 3.]

[2 Not in the original Lat.]

[3 Habet doctos, sapientes, pios, fideles in regno doctores et pastores multos, Lat. omitted by the translator: (your majesty) hath in your kingdom many learned, wise, pious, and faithful teachers and pastors.]

he did especially use the help of those excellent men Esay and Micheas, did not despise faithful admonishers, even among the meanest sort of Levites: neither thought they, that in admonishing the king they lost and spent their labour in vain[4]. [2 Chron. xxx. 22.] I therefore, having good affiance in your Majesty's good and godly disposition, do verily hope, that this short discourse of mine, touching the true causes of the felicity and calamities of kings and kingdoms, shall have a profiting place[5] with you. Even I, which twelve years since did dedicate unto your father of famous memory, Henry the Eighth, a book touching the authority of the holy scripture, and the institution and function of bishops[6], against the pontifical chuffs[7] of the Romish superstition and tyranny; and now by experience know, that that labour of mine brought forth no small fruit within the realm of England; am now so bold again as to dedicate these my sermons unto your royal Majesty.

In these sermons I handle not the least and lowest points or places of Christian religion, the law, sin, grace, the Gospel, and repentance. Neither do I, as I think, handle them irreligiously. For I use to confer one scripture with another; than which there is no way better and safer to follow in the handling of matters touching our religion. And for because you are the true defender of the Christian faith, it cannot be but well[8] undoubtedly, to have Christian sermons come abroad under the defence of your Majesty's name. My mind was, according to mine ability and the measure of faith which is in me, to further the cause of true religion, which now beginneth to bud in England, to the great rejoicing of all good people. I have therefore written these sermons at large, and handled the matter so, that of one many more may be gotten: wherein the pastor's discretion shall easily

[4 oleum et operam perdere, Lat.]

[5 et locum et fructum habituram, Lat.]

[6 Interesting particulars of the reception of this book in England in 1538 occur in Original Letters, Parker Soc. pp. 611, 618. See also p. 313 for a testimony to the usefulness of Bullinger's writings in England.]

[7 antistites, Lat.; *chuff*, a word of no certain etymology, but signifying a rough uneducated clown of portly appearance. Toone's Glossary, in voc. Lond. 1834. See Shakspeare's Henr. IV. Part 1. Sc. 2, Act 2, —"ye fat chuffs."]

[8 minime erit ingratum, Lat.]

discern what is most available and profitable for every several church. And the pastor's duty verily is rightly to mow[1] the word of truth, and aptly to give the fodder of life unto the Lord's flock. They will not think much[2], I hope, because in these sermons I do use the same matter, the same arguments, and the very same words, that other before me, both ancient and late writers, (whom I have judged to follow the scriptures), have used yer[3] now, or which I myself have elsewhere alleged in other books of mine own heretofore published. For as this doctrine, at all times, and in all points agreeable to itself, is safest to be followed, so hath it always been worthily praised of all good and godly people. If the Lord grant me life, leisure, and strength, I will shortly add the other eight sermons of the fourth decade, which are behind[4]. And all that I say here, I speak it still without all prejudice to the judgment of the right and true Church.

Our Lord Jesus, the King of kings, and Lord of lords, lead you with the Spirit[5], and defend you to the glory of his name, and safety of all your realm. At Tigure, in the month of March, the year of our Lord, 1550.

Your Majesty's dutifully bounden and daily Orator[6],

HENRY BULLINGER,

Minister of the Church at Tigure in Swicerland.

[1 secare, Lat. 2 Tim. ii. 15, Erasmus' version:—recta sectio (verbi veritatis) est, explicandi ratio ad ædificationem formata. Calv. Comment. in loc.]

[2 His non ingratum fuerit, Lat.]

[3 yer: ere, before. See Tyndale's Doctrinal Treat. Park. Soc. p. 51, note 1, and 455, note 1.]

[4 Bullinger fulfilled this promise in the following August. See Dedication prefixed to the Third Sermon of the fourth Decade.]

[5 Spiritu suo, Lat.; his Spirit.]

[6 Orator: bead-man, or prayer-man. See note 3, Tyndale's Doctrinal Treatises. Parker Soc. ed. p. 331.]

THE

THIRD DECADE OF SERMONS,

WRITTEN BY

HENRY BULLINGER.

OF THE FOURTH PRECEPT OF THE SECOND TABLE, WHICH IS IN ORDER THE EIGHTH OF THE TEN COMMANDMENTS, THOU SHALT NOT STEAL. OF THE OWNING AND POSSESSING OF PROPER GOODS, AND OF THE RIGHT AND LAWFUL GETTING OF THE SAME; AGAINST SUNDRY KINDS OF THEFT.

THE FIRST SERMON.

For the sustaining and nourishing of our lives and families, we men have need of earthly riches. Next therefore after the commandments touching the preservation of man's life, and the holy keeping of wedlock's knot, in this fourth commandment a law is given for the true getting, possessing, using and bestowing of wealth and worldly substance; to the end that we should not get them by theft or evil means, that we should not possess them unjustly, nor use or spend them unlawfully. Justice requireth to use riches well, and to give to every man that which is his: now, since the laws of God be the laws of justice, they do very necessarily by way of commandment say, "Thou shalt not steal." These words, again, in number are few; but in sense, of ample signification. For in this precept theft itself is utterly forbidden; all shifting subtilties are flatly prohibited; deceit and guile is banished; all cozening fetches are clean cut off; covetousness, idleness, prodigality, or lavish spending, and all unjust dealing, is herein debarred: moreover, charge is here given for maintaining of justice, and that especially in contracts and bargains. Wonderful turmoils, verily, are raised up and begun among men of this world about the getting, possessing, and spending of temporal riches: it was expedient therefore, that God in

The eighth commandment.

his law, which he ordaineth for the health, commodity, and peace of us men, should appoint a state, and prescribe an order, for earthly goods: as in this law he hath most excellently done. And that ye may the better understand it, I will at this present, by the help of God's Holy Spirit, discourse upon the proper owning and upright getting of worldly riches: in which treatise the whole consideration of theft in all his kinds shall be plainly declared.

Of the proper owning of substance.

For the proper owning and possessing of goods is not by this precept prohibited; but we are forbidden to get them unjustly, to possess them unlawfully, and to spend them wickedly: yea, by this commandment the proper owning of peculiar substance is lawfully ordained and firmly established. The Lord forbiddeth theft; therefore he ordaineth and confirmeth the proper owning of worldly riches. For what canst thou steal, if all things be common to all men? For thou hast stolen thine own, and not another man's, if thou takest from another that which he hath. But God forbiddeth theft; and therefore, by the making of this law, he confirmeth the proper possession of peculiar goods. But because there is no small number of that furious sect of Anabaptists, which deny this propriety of several[1] possessions[2], I will by some evident testimonies of scripture declare that it is both allowed and ratified of old. Of Abraham, who in the scripture is called the father of faith, Eliazer, his servant, saith: "God hath blessed my master marvellously, that he is become great; and hath given him sheep and oxen, silver and gold, menservants and maidservants, camels and asses[3]; and to his son hath he given all that he hath." Lo then, Abraham was wealthy, and did possess by the right of propriety all those things which God had given him; and he left them all, by the title of inheritance, as peculiar and proper goods unto his son Isaac. Isaac therefore and Jacob possessed their own and proper goods. Moreover God, by the hand of Moses, brought the Israelites, his people, into the land of promise, the grounds whereof he did by lot divide unto the tribes of

[Gen. xxiv. 35, 36.]

[1 several: separate, particular.]

[2 See Articles of Religion, Art. XXXVIII. and Bullinger adversus Anabaptistas. Lib. I. cap. 9, p. 22, and Lib. IV. cap. 9, p. 143, Tigur. 1560.]

[3 camels and asses, not in original Lat. of Bullinger.]

Josue[4] his servant, appointing to every one a particular portion to possess; and did by laws provide that those inheritances should not be mingled and confounded together. In Salomon and the prophets there are very many precepts and sentences tending to this purpose. [Levit. xxv. Numb. xxvii.

But I know very well that these troublesome wranglers do make this objection, and say: That christian men are not bound to these proofs, that are fetched out of the old Testament[5]. And although I could confute that objection, and prove that those places out of the old Testament do in this case bind us to mark and follow them; yet will I rather, for shortness' sake, allege some proofs out of the scriptures of the new Testament, to stop their mouths withal. Our Lord Jesus Christ doth greatly commend in his disciples the works of mercy, which do consist in feeding the hungry, in giving drink to the thirsty, in clothing the naked, in visiting prisoners and those that be sick, and in harbouring strangers and banished men. He therefore granteth to his disciples a propriety and possession of peculiar goods, wherewith they may frankly do good unto other, and help the needy and the man in misery. But, the proper owning of several goods being once taken away, good deeds and alms must of necessity be utterly lacking: for if all things be common, then dost thou give nothing of that which is thine, but all that thou spendest is of the common riches. Yet Paul the apostle, in his epistle to the Corinthians, biddeth every one to lay up alms by himself, which he might receive when he came to Corinth. He hath also commanded every one to bestow so much as he can find in his heart willingly to give, and according to the quantity that every one possesseth, not according to that which he possesseth not; and yet not to bestow it so, that they to whom it is given should have more than enough, and they which give should be pinched with penury and lack of things necessary. The same apostle saith: "We beseech you, brethren, that you study to be quiet, and to do your [1 Cor. xvi. 1—4.] [2 Cor. viii. 11—15, & ix. 6, 7.]

[4 per Josue, Lat; by Joshua.]

[5 ... inter abominandos Anabaptistas eos statuimus, qui vetus testamentum rejiciunt, qui testimonia quæ ex illo adducuntur ad declaranda et confirmanda dogmata Christianæ fidei, aut ad errores et falsa dogmata refutanda, non recipiunt, &c.—Bullinger adv. Anabap. Lib. II. cap. 15, p. 74.]

own business, and to work with your own hands, as we commanded you: that you may walk honestly to them that be without, and that ye may have lack of nothing." I could, out of other his[1] epistles, allege many more proofs of this same sort: but these are enough to declare sufficiently, that propriety of goods is in both the Testaments permitted to christian men.

[1 Thess. iv. 11, 12.]

How in the apostles' age all things were common.

In the Acts of the Apostles we read[2], that among them of the primitive and apostolic church all things were common; but that which followeth in the same book doth declare what kind of communion that was which they had: for Luke saith, "None of them said that any thing was his of that which he possessed." Lo here, the first Christians possessed houses, grounds, and other riches, by the right of propriety; and yet they possessed them not as their own goods, but as the goods of other men, and as it were in common, so notwithstanding that the right of propriety did still remain in possessors' own hands: and if so be at any time necessity so required, they sold their lands and houses, and helped the need of them that lacked. If they sold, then that which they sold was undoubtedly their own: for no good man doth sell another man's substance, but that which is his own, or that which he hath taken in hand to husband as his own. Moreover, St Peter, compounding all this controversy, saith to Ananias, "Whiles the land remained, was it not thine own? and when it was sold, was it not in thy power? How is it then, that thou liest to the Holy Ghost, and keepest back part of the price of the land, and makest, notwithstanding, as though thou hadst brought the whole price unto us?" It was in Ananias his power not to have sold the land; and, when it was sold, to have kept to himself the whole sum of money: and yet for that deed he should not have been excluded from the church of the faithful. It was free therefore at that time, even as at this day also it is, either to sell, or not to sell, their[3] lands and possessions, and to bestow it commonly for the relieving of the poor. Therefore that place in the Acts of the Apostles doth not take away the right of propriety, nor command such a communion of every man's goods as our mad-headed Anabaptists go about to ordain.

[Acts iv. 32.]

[Acts v. 3, 4.]

[1 his, not in original Lat.]
[2 sane, Lat. omitted: indeed.]
[3 their, not in original Lat.]

And for because I perceive that some do very stiffly stick to the letter, and urge that communion of substance, it shall not be tedious to recite unto you, dearly beloved, other men's judgments touching this point; I mean, the opinions of them which by conference of scriptures have made this matter most plain and manifest[4].

Whereas we read in the second chapter of the Acts, that all which believed were joined in one[5], it must not so be understood as though they, like monks, forsaking every one his proper house, did dwell together in common, all in one house; but that they, as it is immediately after added, continued daily in the temple with one accord: not that they left off every man to eat in his own house and to provide things necessarily required of nature, or that every one sold the house that he had; since there is afterward added, "breaking bread from house to house." If they brake bread from house to house, let these Anabaptists answer, in what houses the Christians at Jerusalem did break their bread. In the houses of unbelievers? I think, nay. Therefore they brake bread and ate meat in the houses of the faithful. How therefore did they all sell or forsake their lands and houses? How did they live together like cloisterers? Whereas Luke saith therefore, that "so many as believed were joined in one," that is to be understood, that they did oftentimes assemble in the temple: so then that communicating of goods among the Christians was nothing else but a sale, which the wealthier sort made of their lands and houses, to the end that by bestowing that money the poor might be relieved, lest they, being compelled by penury and famine, should turn from Christianity to Judaism again. Moreover, we read in many places of the Acts, that Christians kept to themselves the use of their houses and ordering of their substance; as in the ninth of the Acts we find of Tabitha, who was full of good works, making coats and clothing for widows and poor people. In the twelfth of the Acts we read that Peter the apostle, being brought out of prison, "came to the house of Mary, the

[4 Most of the ensuing arguments from scripture occur in Melancthon's Epist. adv. Anabap. Corp. Ref. Tom. I. col. 970—3, and Calvin's Instruct. adv. Libertinos, cap. 21, p. 393, Tom. VIII. Amstel. 1667. See also Bullinger, adv. Anabapt. Lib. IV. cap. 9.]

[5 Acts ii. 44, erant conjuncti, Erasmus' rendering.]

mother of John, whose surname was Mark, where many were gathered together to pray:" he saith not, to dwell, but to pray; whereby thou mayest understand that the congregation was assembled in that house to pray. Again, in the ninth chapter, Peter stayeth many days in the house of Simon the tanner, which was a christian man, and dwelt in his own house. And in the eleventh chapter, "the disciples, according to every one's ability, sent help to the brethren which dwelt in Jury." Lo here, "as every one," saith he, "was of ability." But what ability could any of them have had, unless they had somewhat of their own in possession? In the sixteenth chapter, Lydia, the woman that sold purple, when she was baptized, did say, "If ye have judged me to be faithful to the Lord, come into my house, and abide there." Why said she not, sell my house; but, "come into my house:" but for because she did so possess her house after she believed, as that she made it common to the apostles? In the twentieth chapter, Paul doth glory that he hath not desired any man's gold, silver, or precious clothes. But what sense or reason could be in these words, unless it were lawful for christian men to keep the possession of that which is theirs? And in the twenty-first chapter, Philip had at Cæsarea a house and four daughters: why sold he not his house? Philemon also, Paul's host, had both a house and a servant too. It is therefore most plain and evident, that the Holy Ghost's meaning is not to have such an order of life observed, as these people do devise; but that every man should govern well his own house and family, and relieve the brethren's necessity, according as his ability will suffer and bear. To this end also do other places belong; 1 Timothy v., Titus ii., 1 Thess. iv., 2 Thess. iii. And when in all his Epistles almost he prescribeth to parents and children, to husbands and wives, to masters and servants, their office and duties; what doth he else, but teach how to order our houses and families? Thus much thus far.

[Philem. 16, 22.]

What may be said of that, moreover, that many wealthy men in the gospel are reported to have been worshippers of God? Joseph of Arimathea, which buried the Lord after he was crucified, is said to have been a wealthy man, and a disciple of Christ also. The women were wealthy, which followed the Lord from Galilee, and ministered to him and

his disciples of their goods and substance. The eunuch[1] treasurer of Queen Candace was a wealthy man. Tabitha of Joppa, whom Peter raised from death to life, was rich, and spent her substance freely upon poor and needy people. Lydia, the seller of purple, was wealthy too; and innumerable more, who were both godly and faithful people. Whereas the Lord therefore did say to the young man, "If thou wilt be perfect, go, and sell that which thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven; and come and follow me;" that is no general law, or simple doctrine belonging to all men; but is a demonstration only, to shew that the young man to whom he spake had not yet so perfectly fulfilled the law, as he thought verily that he had done: for he thought he had done all, and that nothing was wanting. For the young man set more by his goods than he did by God and the voice of God's commandment: for he departed sadly, and did not as the Lord had bidden him; and thereby declared that he had not yet fulfilled the law. Moreover, we may out of other places gather that the Lord did not cast down his disciples to misery and beggary. Neither was Paul the apostle ashamed to make laws for rich men, and to prescribe an order how they ought to behave themselves. "To them that be rich," saith he, "in this world, give charge that they be not high-minded, nor trust in uncertain riches, but in the living God, which giveth us abundantly all things to enjoy; that they do good, that they be rich in good works, that they be ready to give, glad to distribute, laying up in store for themselves a good foundation against the time to come, that they may lay hold upon eternal life." Hereunto belong the admonitions of our Saviour, who saith: "Ye cannot serve God and mammon at once." Again, "Riches are thorns that choke the seed of the word of God." And again, "Verily, I say unto you, a rich man shall hardly enter into the kingdom of heaven. It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God." And as the minds of wealthy men are not utterly to be discouraged and driven to desperation, as though it were impossible for them to be saved; so are they to be admonished of the imminent perils, lest peradventure they sleep securely

[Matt. xix. 21.]

[1 Tim. vi. 17—19.]

[Matt. vi. 24, & xiii. 22, & xix. 23, 24.]

[1 Substituted for another word used by the translator.]

over their riches, being seduced by Satan to abuse their wealth, when as indeed they ought rather to use it after the rule of the Apostle, which I did even now recite. The Gangresian synod[1], a very ancient council, verily condemned them which taught, "that faithful rich men could have no hope to be saved by the Lord, unless they did renounce and forsake all the good that they did possess[2]." St Augustine enrolleth and reckoneth the Apostolics in his catalogue, or bead-row, of heretics: "They, taking arrogantly this name to themselves, did not admit into their company any of them which used the fellowship of their own wives, or had in possession any proper substance." After that he addeth: "They therefore are heretics, because, separating themselves from the church, they think that they have no hope to be saved which use and enjoy the things that they themselves lack. They are like unto the Encratites, and are called also by the name of Apotactites[3]." Touching riches, they of themselves verily are not evil, but the good gifts of God; it is the abuse that makes them evil. But for the use of them, I will speak hereafter.

Gangresis Synodus.

False doctrine concerning riches and rich men condemned.

Here followeth now the treatise of the getting of wealth and riches, which be necessary for the maintenance of our lives and families. Touching the getting whereof there is a large discourse among our lawyers: for they say, that goods are gotten by the law of nations, and by the peculiar law of every particular country: by the law of nations; as by prevention in possession, by captivity, by finding, by birth, by casting up of water, by changing the kind, by increase in bondage, by mixture, by building, planting, sowing, tilling in

Of the lawful getting of riches.

[1 The Synod of Gangra in Paphlagonia was held after that of Nice, but before that of Antioch, i. e. between A.D. 325 and 341; but the exact year is not known.]

[2 — *τῶν χρημάτα ἐχόντων, καὶ μὴ ἀναχωρούντων αὐτῶν, κατεγίνωσκον (οἱ περὶ τὸν Εὐστάθιον) —κατὰ τούτων οὖν ἱεροὶ ἀθροισθέντες πατέρες κανόνας ἐξέθεντο.* Zonaras in Can. Apost. &c. Lutet. Paris. 1618. p. 310.]

[3 Apostolici, qui se isto nomine arrogantissime vocaverunt, eo quod in suam communionem non reciperent utentes conjugibus et res proprias possidentes... Ideo isti hæretici sunt, quoniam se ab ecclesia separantes nullam spem putant eos habere, qui utuntur his rebus quibus ipsi carent. Encratitis isti similes sunt; nam et Apotactitæ appellantur.—August. Opp. Par. 1531, Tom. VI. p. 4, col. 3.—*Ἐγκρατῖται, continents; ἀποτακτικοὶ, separatists.* See Vol. I. p. 432, n. 3.]

a ground free from possession, and by delivery: by the peculiar law of every particular country; as by continuance of possession, by prescription, by giving, by will, by legacy, by fiefment, by succession, by challenge, by purchase[4]. Of all which particularly to speak, it would be a labour too tedious, and for you to hear, dearly beloved, little profitable.

That therefore which we are to say we will frame to the manners and customs of our age; and we will utter that which shall tend to our avail. Principally, and before all things, we must close and shut up an evil eye, lest we be carried away with too much concupiscence and desire. "The light of the body," saith our Saviour Christ in the Gospel, "is the eye: if therefore thine eye be single, thine whole body shall be lightened: but if thine eye be evil, thy body shall be all dark." The mind of man, being endued with faith and not infected with concupiscences and naughty lusts, doth give light to all things that he shall take in hand, go about, and do: but if his mind be corrupt and unclean, then shall his deeds savour also of corruption and uncleanness. Wherefore faith and upright conscience must subdue and beat down too much concupiscence and covetousness, which take their original and roots from distrust, making unholy and unclean all the counsels of man, all his thoughts, all his words and deeds. And that we may be able and of force sufficient to captivate and bring them into subjection, necessary it is, that the grace of Christ assist us; which every godly-minded man and woman doth ask of God with godly and faithful prayers. [Matt. vi. 22, 23.]

Behoveful it is that we always set before our eyes, and have deeply graven in our hearts, the doctrine of our Saviour Christ touching these, and the instruction also of his holy apostles; which is not so much but it may be well borne away. We will, therefore, rehearse unto you, dearly beloved, three several places, two of them out of the Gospel,

[4 Jure gentium, et jure civili.... Occupatione, captivitate, inventione, nativitate, alluvione, specificatione, accessione, confusione, ædificatione, plantatione, satione, cultura, traditione... Usucapione, præscriptione, donatione, testamento, legato, fidei commisso, successione, arrogatione, adjectione.—Corp. Jur. Civil. Digest. Lib. XLI. Tit. i. col. 1447, &c. Tom. I. Par. 1628.—All these terms of the civil law are very fairly explained in the translation.]

and the third out of Saint Paul: in which places, as it were in a perfect abridgement, you may have comprised what things soever can be required of such as worship God in truth. In the Gospel according to St Matthew thus saith our Lord and Saviour: "Hoard not up for yourselves treasures in earth, where the rust and moth doth corrupt, and where thieves break through and steal: but lay up treasure for you in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt, and where thieves do not break through and steal. For where your treasure is, there will your hearts also be. No man can serve two masters: for either he shall hate the one, and love the other; or else he shall lean to the one, and despise the other: ye cannot serve God and mammon. Therefore I say unto you, be not careful for your life, what ye shall eat or drink; nor yet for your body, what ye shall put on: is not the life more worthy than meat, and the body more worth than raiment? Behold the fowls of the air, for they sow not, neither do they reap, nor carry into barns; yet your heavenly Father feedeth them: are not ye much better than they? Which of you, by taking careful thought, can add one cubit to his stature? And why care ye for raiment? Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow: they labour not, neither do they spin; and yet I say unto you, that even Salomon in all his royalty was not arrayed like one of these. Wherefore, if God so clothe the grass of the field, which, though it stand to day, is to-morrow cast into the furnace; shall he not much more do the same for you, O ye of little faith? Therefore take no thought, saying, What shall we eat, or, What shall we drink, or, Wherewith shall we be clothed? For after all these things do the Gentiles seek: for your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things. But seek ye first the kingdom of God[1], and all these things shall be added unto you. Care not then for to-morrow; for the morrow shall care for itself. Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof." Thus saith the Lord in the sixth of Matthew's Gospel.

Again, in the twelfth chapter of St Luke's gospel he[2] saith: "Take heed, and beware of covetousness: for no man's

[1 et justitiam ejus, Lat.; omitted by the translator: and his righteousness.]

[2 idem Dominus noster, Lat.; the same our Lord.]

life standeth in the abundance of things which he possesseth:" that is, the life hath no need of superfluity, or, no man's life hath need of more than enough. "And he put forth a similitude, saying, The ground of a certain rich man brought forth fruits plentifully; and he thought within himself, saying, What shall I do, because I have no room where to bestow my fruits? And he said, This will I do; I will pull down my barns, and build greater, and therein will I gather all my fruits and my goods; and I will say to my soul, Soul, thou hast much goods laid up in store for many years; take thine ease, eat, drink, and be merry. But God said unto him, Thou fool, this night do they require thy soul again from thee[3]: then whose shall these things be which thou hast provided? So is he that gathereth riches to himself, and is not rich to God-wards." Paul, the vessel of election, following in all things his teacher and master, crieth out, and saith: "Godliness is a great lucre, if a man be content with that he hath: for we brought nothing into the world, and it is certain that we may carry nought away; but, having food and raiment, we must therewith be content. For they that will be rich fall into temptations and snares, and into many foolish and noisome lusts, which drown men in perdition and destruction. For covetousness, and the love of money, is the root of all evil; which while some have lusted after, they erred from the faith, and wrapped themselves in many sorrows. But thou, O man of God, flee these things; and follow after righteousness, godliness, faith, love, patience, meekness, &c." [1 Tim. vi. 6—11.]

Whosoever, therefore, meaneth by bodily labour or any kind of traffic to get a living and things necessary for himself and his family, let him take these godly precepts instead of treacle[4] and other wholesome medicines, to strengthen his mind against the envenomed force of poisoned greediness, and the infecting plague of covetousness. And when he hath with this medicine against poison, compounded of the doctrine of the evangelists and apostles, fortified his mind against the

Labour is commended and idleness condemned.

[3 animam tuam repetunt abs te, Lat. So the Vulgate and Erasmus. The original is, *τὴν ψυχήν σου ἀπαιτοῦσιν ἀπὸ σοῦ*. See the marginal reading of our authorised version.]

[4 theriaca, Lat.; a compound medicine against the bites of poisonous animals; treacle. Facciolati Tot. Lat. Lex. in voc.]

plague, then let him immediately bend himself to some labour and kind of occupation. But let every one pick out and choose an honest and profitable occupation, not a needless art, or a science hurtful to any other man. And finally, let all men fly idleness, as a plague or contagious disease. And now again let us in this case hear the heavenly words of that holy apostle Paul, who saith: "We charge you, brethren, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye withdraw yourselves from every brother that liveth inordinately, and not after the institution[1] which he received of us. For when we were with you, this we warned you of, that if any would not work, the same should not eat. For we hear say, that there are some which walk among you inordinately, working not at all, but be busy-bodies. Them that are such we command and exhort, by our Lord Jesus Christ, that they, working in quietness, eat their own bread."

[2 Thess. iii. 6, 10—12.]

In all ages, and among all honest men, both idleness and needless occupations have been always condemned. Hesiodus said:

Both gods and men abhor
The lazy hand-inbosom'd lout[2],
That works not in a common weal,
But lurks, and lives without
Pains-taking; like the idle drone,
That lives upon the spoil
Of that, for which the busy bees
Do tire themselves with toil.

And Sophocles said:

Where idleness doth sit a-brood,
There's never good egg hatch'd[3].

For God doth not assist slothful persons and idle slow-backs. Now I call those needless occupations, which idle and ill-disposed people do use, thereby to be troublesome to their neighbours, and to deceive other men; exercising,

Needless occupations.

[1 institutionem, Lat.; Erasmus' rendering. See Fulke's Defence of Translations of the Bible, Parker Soc. ed. pp. 151, 166.]

[2 to bosom, to conceal in privacy. Johnson's Dict.; lout, to bow, bend, or do obeisance; and hence a clown or rustic was so called. Toone's Glossary. Lond. 1834.]

[3 Hesiodi Ἔργ. καὶ Ἡμ. 301. Sophocl. Iphig. apud Stobæi Floril. Tit. xxx. ed. Gaisford, Vol. II. p. 30.]

I confess, an occupation, but such an one as is utterly unlawful and unprofitable to all men, themselves only excepted, to whom it brings in excessive gains: of which sort are usurers, engrossers, hucksters[4], and other moe, that have many arts to frank themselves with an idle shew of business, like a swine shut up to be fatted in a sty[5]. As for them whose wealth is come to them, not by their own labour, or their own industry[6], but by inheritance of their ancestors' leaving, let them consider with themselves by what means the riches were gotten, which now by inheritance are fallen to their lot: and, if they perceive that they be heirs of unjust-gotten goods, let them be liberal, and make amends for them[7], not doubling the evil in possessing unjustly, and more wickedly digesting the thing that before was naughtily come by. Let them put no trust or confidence in their ill-gotten riches, neither let them give themselves to idleness, but still be busy in some honest thing. But yet most commonly it cometh to pass, that ill-gotten goods are spent very lewdly[8]. The best way therefore is, either to be heir to a good, just, and liberal man; or else to seek means, by their own toil and travail[9], to have of thine own wherewithal to sustain both thine own life and the lives of thy family.

Wealth by inheritance.

But many men make a doubt here, and call it into question: first, whether bargaining, and buying and selling, be lawful or no; and then, what one occupation it is, among all other, that doth best beseem a godly man. Them which stick upon these doubts I wish to consider these reasons that follow. First, it is manifest, that contracts are for the most part voluntary, and that bargains are made with the mutual consent of the buyer and seller; so that each one may take deliberation, and make choice of that which he would have, to see whether it be best for his purpose or no. Of this sort are the exchange of things, suretyship, letting, hiring, mortgaging, borrowing, lending, covenanting, buying, selling, and

Whether bargaining and buying and selling be lawful or no.

[4 monopolæ et propolæ, Lat.]

[5 negotioso otio se saginantes, Lat.]

[6 negotiatione æqua, Lat.; by fair trading.]

[7 and make amends for them; not in the original Latin.]

[8 male partum male dilabatur, Lat. See Erasmi Adag. Chiliad. p. 727, Hanov. 1617.]

[9 negotiatione justa, Lat.]

other moe like unto these. These things, as experience doth prove, even the holiest men cannot be without, so long as they live in this frail world. Neither doth the Lord of the law in any place forbid these kind of contracts, but planteth them rather in his commonweal of Israel, that the people might know and acknowledge them to be the ordinances of God: the abuse, deceit, guile, and confidence in them is flatly forbidden by the word of the Lord. If, therefore, any man do use them moderately, not staying himself upon them, nor reposing his trust in them, in so using them he sinneth not. And here again let us hear the words of the apostle, who saith: [1 Cor. vii. 29—31.] "Let them which have wives be as though they had none; and them which weep, as though they wept not; and them which rejoice, as though they rejoiced not; and them which buy, as though they possessed not; and them which use this world, as though they used it not[1]: for the fashion of this world doth pass away." In like manner, we do in no place read that just and lawful gains have been at any time forbidden: yea, the Lord doth bless the labour and travail of his servants, which love him, that even as in virtue, so also they may increase in riches and substance. This do the examples of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob evidently testify. [1 Tim. iii. 3, 8; Titus i. 7, 11.] And the very apostles bid us not[2] to look after no gain, but charge us only to keep ourselves from gaping after filthy gain.

Sundry kinds of occupations.

There are among men many and divers occupations; and the state and conditions, wherein men are, do stand in need of many and sundry things. There is an occupation or grosser kind of labour, which is put in practice by force of hand and strength of body rather than by art, although it wanteth not altogether wit and discretion. There is also a more fine and subtile labour of the wit, which, although it be not done without the body and strength of man, is yet, notwithstanding, accomplished by the wit rather than by the bodily force of him which laboureth. Of the first sort are all those occupations or sciences which are commonly called handicrafts; and in that number we reckon also merchandising, husbandry, and

[1 So Tyndale, 1534, and Cranmer, 1539; and the Vulgate and Erasmus agree with Bullinger's text, tanquam non utantur.]

[2 non jubent nos nullum sperare lucrum, Lat. So 1577; *not*, is wanting in 1587.]

grazing of cattle. Of the latter sort are the study of tongues, of physic, of law, of divinity especially, and of philosophy, and lastly, the governing of a commonweal. The patriarchs, verily, who were most innocent and excellent men, did, for the most part, either exercise husbandry, or else breed and feed up cattle to increase. There are many examples, of Abel, Noe, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Job, and other more. The Levites and prophets lived by their study and ecclesiastical ministry. The feat[3] of merchandising is nowhere condemned throughout the holy scriptures; but those merchants are condemned, which neither fear nor seek after God, but use odd shifts and subtile sleights to deceive and cozen their brethren and neighbours. For James, the apostle of Christ our Lord, saith: "Go to now, ye that say, To-day, and to-morrow, let us go into such a city, and continue there a year, and buy, and sell, and win: and yet cannot tell what shall happen on the morrow; for what is your life? it is even a vapour, that continueth for a little time, and then vanisheth away. For that ye ought to say, If the Lord will, and if we live[4], let us do this or that." Neither is Lydia, the seller of purple, found fault withal, in the Acts of the Apostles, for that she did sell purple: for Salomon, where he setteth forth the praise of a good housewife, doth commend her greatly for exercising merchandise. All notable kings have lived by governing of their commonwealths; even as Joseph, the preserver of Egypt, and Daniel, the chief next to the king in Babylon and Media, did in like sort. For as in man's body there are many members, and sundry uses whereunto they are applied, when as notwithstanding they do all agree in one, and tend together to the preservation and safeguard of the body; even so God hath ordained divers arts and occupations for men to labour in, so yet nevertheless, that he would have them all to serve to the commonweal's commodity.

[James iv. 13—15.]

Prov. xxxi.

1 Cor. xii.

What occupation a godly man ought chiefly to use.

But now it is not for me definitively to pronounce which of all these occupations a godly man ought chiefly first to choose, and then to put in practice. Let every man weigh with himself the things that hitherto I have alleged; then let him search and make trial of himself, to what kind of life and

[3 feat: employment.]

[4 So Tyndale, 1534, and Cranmer, 1539; and the Vulgate and Erasmus, as Bullinger, et si vixerimus.]

occupation his mind is most willing, and whereunto he himself is most fit and profitable: let him also have a diligent regard to consider, what arts they are that be most simple and agreeable to nature; and what occupations have least need of craft and deceit; and lastly, what sciences do least of all draw us from God and just dealing. And when this is scanned, then let every man choose to himself that which he taketh to be best convenient, and most wholesome both for his soul and also his body. We cannot all of us manure the ground, neither are all heads apt to take learning; a few among many do govern the common-weal; and all are not fit to be handicrafts-men. Every one hath his sundry disposition; every one is inspired by God; every one hath the aid and counsel of his friends and well-willers; every one hath sundry occasions; and every one hath the rule of God's word: let him be content with and stay himself upon them, so yet that God's commandments may still have the pre-eminence.

Beware of prodigality.

But for him that laboureth and taketh pains in his occupation, these rules of admonition which follow are as necessary as those which are already rehearsed. For first of all, every one must take heed of prodigality or riot, in meat, drink, apparel, nice pranking of the body, and gorgeous buildings; needless expenses must always be spared. For the Lord's will is, that every man should keep, and not lash out, the wealth that he hath, where no need requireth it: for the Lord doth hate and detest riot and needless cost to maintain pride withal. Moreover the man, that is prodigal of that which is his own, is for the most part desirous of other men's goods; from whence arise innumerable mischiefs, threats, conspiracies, downright deceit, shameless shifts, murders, and seditions. Secondarily, let him which laboureth in his vocation be prompt and active; let him be watchful and able to abide labour; he must be no lither-back[1], unapt, or slothful fellow. Whatsoever he doth, that let him do with faith[2] and diligence. Sloth and sluggishness do displease God utterly. The Lord mislikes the yawning mouth and folded arms, the signs of sleep, which commonly follow the careless man, who doth neglect the state and condition of

[1 lither, lazy, idle, slothful. (North-country word.) Grose's Provincial Glossary. Lond. 1787.]

[2 fideliter, Lat.]

his house and family[3]. But on the other side, the scripture commendeth highly faithful labourers, and good and painful people in work. Let us hear, I beseech you, the golden words of Solomon, the wisest among all men; who, where he blameth sluggards, saith: "Go to the emmet, thou sluggard; consider her ways, and learn to be wise. She hath no guide, nor overseer, nor ruler; and yet in the summer she provideth her meat, and gathereth her food in the harvest. How long wilt thou sleep, thou sluggard? when wilt thou arise out of thy sleep? Yea, sleep on still a little, slumber a little, fold thine hands together yet a little, and take thine ease: and in the meanwhile shall poverty come upon thee like a traveller, and necessity like a weaponed man." Again, David in the psalms crieth, saying[4]: "The labours of thine hands shalt thou eat: O well is thee, and happy shalt thou be." What may be thought of that moreover, that the Lord God would not have Adam to live idly in paradise, that happy place for his state and condition? for he enjoined him the tending and dressing of that goodly garden. Idle people, therefore, are the most unhappy of all mortal men; and slothful drowsy-heads are nothing else but an unprofitable lump of unoccupied earth[5]. Lastly, let the artificer have a regard, that he hurt no man by his art or occupation. And let this be the rule for him to keep his eye upon in all business and affairs of his science: "Whatsoever thou wouldest have done to thyself, the same do thou to another; and whatsoever thou wouldest not have done to thyself, that do not thou to another[6]." Moreover, thou doest hurt to another man two sundry ways; that is, by keeping back, and taking away: as for example, if thou withholdest that which thou owest and is not thine own; or if thou takest away that which is another man's, and that which he doth not owe unto thee. But of the hurt done in withholding and taking away, I will at this present speak somewhat

[Prov. vi. 6—11.]

[3 This whole sentence is a paraphrase of the Latin; displicet (Deo) supina rei familiaris negligentia.]

[4 Beati omnes qui timent Dominum, qui ambulant in viis ejus, Lat. omitted by the translator; Blessed are all they that fear the Lord, and walk in his ways. Psal. cxxviii. Prayer Book Version.]

[5 telluris inutile pondus, Lat. See Erasmi Adag. Chiliad. p. 138, Hanov. 1617.]

[6 See Vol. I. p. 197.]

largely, that thereby ye may the better understand the Lord's commandment, "Thou shalt not steal," and more perfectly perceive what kinds and sorts of theft there be.

Theft. Theft, they say, is a deceitful fingering of another man's goods, moveable and bodily, which is done against the owner's will, to the intent to make gain either of the thing itself, or of the use of the thing, or of the possession of the same. Therefore they say, that a mad man doth not commit theft; because in him there can no endeavour of craft or deceit be possibly found. Neither can, say they, that man be argued of[1] theft, which by mistaking, and not of set malice, did take away another man's good instead of his own. But he alone is not called a deceitful fingerer, which layeth hand upon the thing; but he who by any manner of means conveyeth it from the possession of the true owner. Now they say, that it is done against the owner's will, not only if it be perforce and violently taken from him: but also if he know not of the taking it away; or if he do know, yet if he cannot forbid them; or, if he can forbid them, yet if for some certain causes he will not. Neither is it added without a cause, that theft is committed for gain and profit's sake. For if one in jest, or for some other honest cause, take any thing away, he doth not thereby deserve to be called a thief. But of theft they make two sorts: the manifest theft, as that wherewith the thief is taken; and the theft not manifest, as when, after the deed, one is convinced of theft. Of these there is a large discourse, *Digestorum* Lib. XLVII. tit. 2[2]. Let us return to the further opening of our present proposition.

Sundry sorts of damage done by withholding. Thy withholding doth hurt another man, when thou in buying and selling dost use false measure or false weights. To this rule is referred unjust and false exchange[3]; I mean, exchange of money in bank[4]. Touching these points we will recite the commandments and sentences only of the [Lev. xix. 35, 36.] Lord our God, who in Leviticus setteth this for a law: "Ye shall do no unrighteousness in judgment, in meteyard, in weight,

[1 be argued of: be convicted of, found fault with for.]

[2 The foregoing definitions of the Civil Law are collected in Jul. Pacii Isagog. in Instit. &c. p. 395, Traject. ad Rhen. 1680.]

[3 Collybus, Lat.]

[4 Collybus autem, ait Pollux, est permutatio pecuniæ, Lat. omitted by the translator. Cf. Schleusneri Lex. N. T. sub voc. κολλυβιστής.]

or in measure: true balances, true weights, a true ephah," (that is, a bushel, or a peck[5] in measure, of dry things,) "and a true hin," (that is, in measure of liquid things a pint and an half, or the twelfth part of a pint and an half,[6]) "shall ye have. I am the Lord your God, which brought you out of the land of Egypt." In Deuteronomy we read: "Thou shalt not have in thy bag two manner of weights, a great and small. Neither shalt thou have in thy house divers measures, a great and a small," (to the end, that in receiving or buying thou mayest use the greater, and in laying out or selling thou mayest use the lesser,) "but thou shalt have a just and a right weight, and a just and right measure shalt thou have; that thy days may be prolonged upon the land, which the Lord thy God giveth thee. For all that do such things, and all that do unrightly, are abominable unto the Lord thy God." Hereunto appertaineth that sentence of Salomon's in the Proverbs, where he saith: "Two manner of weights, and two manner of measures, both these are abominable unto the Lord." But what can be heard, or thought of, more grievous and horrible, than a man to be abominable in the sight of his God? In the sixth chapter of Micheas also the Lord doth threaten divers and grievous punishments, which he mindeth to lay upon the necks of them that use not justice in weights and measures. Why therefore do we not rather fly from doing wrong and unrighteousness, choosing sooner to be happy than unhappy; and hearken unto the Lord, who saith, "Good measure, and pressed down, and shaken together, and running over, shall they give into your bosom; for with the same measure that ye mete to other, shall other mete to you again?" Let us be throughly persuaded therefore, that riches gotten by craft and theft can neither flourish long, nor yet be for our health to enjoy.

[Deut. xxv. 13—16.]

[Prov. xx. 10.]

[Luke vi. 38.]

Again, other men are endamaged by the withholding of them which possess inheritances due unto other: which break promise, and deceive men in contracts, bargains, and covenants: which make a face, as though they gave the thing,

[5 modium vel quartale, Lat. The ephah is generally reckoned to have been nearly equal to 6½ gallons of our dry measure. Horne's Introd. Vol. III. p. 534, Lond. 1828.]

[6 sextarium vel cyathus, Lat. The hin was 1 gallon, 2 pints, English. Ibid.]

which they do either change, or retain to themselves by some coloured shift, or else do give it, when they themselves have marred, or utterly destroyed it. Both the one and the other, verily, is fraud and guile and flat deceit. But now, by the way, mark this manifest and usual point of God's just judgment; that wrongful possessors of other men's heritages are both short-lived, and the unfortunatest men of all other people.

[Prov. x 2, & xxviii. 8.] Touching these wrongful withholders Salomon pronounceth, that they shall find no gain. For gain unjustly gotten, how great soever it be, deserveth rather to be called a loss more truly than a gain.

Things found. To this precept do things that are found belong, which thou deniest to the demander, as though thou either hast not found them, or else dost challenge them to be thine own

Pledges and pawns. by law. Hereunto appertaineth the pledge, or pawn, which thou withholdest. A man that taketh a journey into a far country hath put thee in trust with certain silver plate, and a pound weight of gold, to keep for him against his return, because he had hope that thou wouldest keep them safely; but at his coming back, when he demandeth them, thou deniest the thing: in so doing thou hast stolen it from him, and cracked the credit that thy friend had in thee, and, last of all, thou hast doubled the sin. A poor man hath guaged[1] to thee some precious thing, that he setteth much by; which when he claimeth again, with ready money in hand to pay the sum which he borrowed upon it, thou deniest him the pledge, thou quarrellest with him, and usest subtilty to defraud him of his pawn: in so doing thou stealest it from him. Moreover, the Lord gave to his people other laws to this end and effect, touching the taking of pledges or guages.

[Deut. xxiv. 6, 10—13.] For in Deuteronomy he saith, "No man shall take the nether or the upper millstone to pledge: for he hath laid his life to pledge to thee." For it is all one, as if he had said: Thou shalt not take that at thy neighbour's hand instead of a pledge, wherewith he getteth his living and doth maintain his family: for thereby thou shouldest take from him both life and living. And immediately after he saith: "When thou lendest thy brother any thing, thou shalt not go into his house to fetch a pledge from thence; but thou shalt stand without, that he which borrowed it of thee may bring it out

[1 gaged: impawned, Johnson.]

of doors to thee." The Lord forbiddeth cruelty, and would not have rich men to be too sharp in ransacking poor men's houses, nor over curious in taking of pledges at poor men's hands. For he addeth afterward: "And if it be a poor body, thou shalt not sleep with his pledge; but deliver him the pledge when as the sun goeth down, that he may sleep in his own raiment, and bless thee; and that shall be imputed for righteousness unto thee before the Lord thy God.

The withholding of labourers hire.

Lastly, they do most of all endamage their neighbours, which do withhold the labourer's wages. The labourer's hire is withheld two sundry ways: for thou dost either never pay it; or else thou payest it with grudging and grunting, thou dost delay the payment too long, or otherwise diminishest some part of his hire. But mark now, that the name of hirelings is of ample signification, and is extended to all kinds of artificers. The common sort of wealthy men have a cast now-a-days to use the help of handicrafts-men, and bid them keep a reckoning of their hire and wages in books of accounts: in the mean while, though they perceive that these poor men lack money, yet will they not pay so much as one penny; yea, when they require the debt that is due, they take them up with bitter words, and send them empty away, till they themselves be disposed to pay. And so these foolish and wicked wealthy men do not cease to lash out in riot prodigally the things that are not clearly their own, but which they withhold from other poor men. Let us hear therefore the laws and judgments of the Lord our God touching this horrible abuse and detestable fault. In Deuteronomy we read: "Thou shalt not deny, nor withhold, the wages of an hired servant, that is needy and poor, whether he be of thy brethren, or of the strangers that are in thy land and within thy gates; but shalt give him his hire the same day, and let not the sun go down thereon, for he is needy, and by the hire he holdeth his life[2]," (that is, he layeth the hope of his life therein, as he that looks to live thereby,) "lest he cry unto the Lord, and it be turned unto sin to thee." With this law of the Lord do the words of James the apostle most fitly agree, where he saith: "Behold, the hire of labourers, which have reaped down your fields, which hire is of you kept back by fraud, crieth; and the cries of them

[Deut. xxiv. 14, 15.]

[2 et ad mercedem tollit animum suum, Lat.]

which have reaped are entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabboth[1]." What can be more terrible to the hearer's ears? The labourer's hire, which is withheld, doth cry, and crieth even up into heaven; and, that which is most of all, doth enter into the ears of the most just, severe, and mighty God. What now may these defrauders look for at God's hand, but heavy punishment to light upon their cursed heads? Tobie therefore most rightly and briefly concludeth this matter, and giveth excellent counsel to all sorts of peo-
[Tobit iv. 14.] ple, saying: "Whosoever worketh any thing for thee, give him his hire immediately, and let not thy hired servant's wages remain with thee at all. For in so doing, and fearing God, thou shalt have thanks."

Damage that is done by taking away.

Now followeth the second member or part of detriment, which doth consist in taking away another man's goods. And this taking away also is of sundry sorts. Now, the first place of these sorts is attributed to theft itself (of which we have spoken somewhat before); which theft is committed, not in taking away of money only, but in wares also, and wrongful dealing in other men's grounds, in removing land-marks or mere-stones[2]; and whatsoever is translated, denied, or clean taken away, against all right; or is maliciously, against all conscience and consent of the other party, that is, of the true owner, delayed, or foaded off[3], till a longer time than it ought to be. For in the nineteenth of Leviticus the Lord setteth this down for a law, and saith: "Ye shall not steal, ye shall not lie; no man shall deal with his neighbour
[Eph. iv. 25, 28.] deceitfully." And Paul to the Ephesians saith: "Laying lies aside, speak ye every one the truth to his brother; for we are members one of another. Let him which stole steal no more; but rather labour with his hands in working the thing that is good, that he may give to him that hath need." This may we extend almost to all the offices and duties of men. For whosoever denieth the debt and duty which of right he oweth, the same doth sin against this commandment:

[1 James v. 4, Sabaoth, Lat. In Cranmer's Bible, 1539, it is Sabbaoth; and in the Geneva New Testament, 1557, "the Lord of Armies."]

[2 mere: a boundary, Johnson.]

[3 To fode out, or fode forth, with words: to keep in attention and expectation, to feed with words. Nares' Glossary in voc.]

as for example, if the householder deny the duty that he oweth to his family; again, if the family consume the householder's substance, and do deceive the good man, whose care is bent to maintain his charge, and are set to undo him by prodigal spending his money and goods, which they filch from him privily. Again, if the lord, or master, (although this point may well be referred to the title of damage that is done by withholding) be too rough to his hinds, or husbandmen[4]: or if the ploughfolks do idly waste their master's substance, or slackly look to their tillage and business, or spend in riot his wealth and riches. So then, the servant offendeth against this commandment, if he doth not seek all the means that he may to have a diligent care for his master's affairs, and faithfully augment his wealth and possessions. And in like manner do maidservants, in the duties which they owe, offend against their mistresses. And therefore Paul, having an eye to this precept, giveth Titus in charge, and saith: "Exhort servants to be obedient unto their own masters, and to please them in all things; not answering again, nor pickers, but shewing all good faithfulness, that they may adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things." And like unto this is that which the same apostle repeateth in the sixth chapter to the Ephesians, the third to the Colossians, and the first to Timothy, the sixth chapter: for in this commandment his doctrine of the duties of masters and servants hath a fit place (so far as concerneth the householder's riches), and whatsoever else is like unto this. [Titus ii. 9, 10.]

To this precept also robbery and deceit do fully belong, both which extend far, and contain many kinds. Fraud is infinite: for the iniquity of men is bottomless, their crafts are diverse, and of so many sorts that no one man can number them all. And robbery is not always armed with force and weapons, but is sometimes furnished with sleights and coloured words: neither do robbers lurk and lay wait in woods and wide open fields alone, but are conversant also in the thickest throngs of every good city. Thou takest away thy neighbour's goods under the false title and pretence of law; thou robbest him, I say, while by thy suit, thy gifts, or other fetches, thou dost extort from the judges corrupted Robbery and deceit.

[4 hinds or husbandmen, colonis suis, Lat.; hind, a servant, Johnson; a peasant or rustic. Toone's Glossary.]

sentence, to maintain thy wrongful claim. Some there are which, under the title of a deed of gift, stick not to wrest whole heritages from legitimate heirs. These and other shifts, or cozenings like unto these, are contained partly under robbery, partly under deceit, but altogether and flatly under plain thievery.

Dicing and carding.

Although at dice players do give their mutual consent to fall to gaming: yet, for because each one's desire is greedily set to get the other's money, and that they make blind fortune (I mean, the dice or cards) to be the divider of their goods betwixt them; therefore are the dice and cards worthily condemned of all good divines. And Justinian the emperor, as it is extant, *Cod.* Lib. III. tit. ultimo, having a regard to his subjects' commodity, decreed, that it should be lawful for no man, either in public or in private houses, to play at dice. For although dice-play hath been used of great antiquity, yet hath it ended and burst out into tears. For many, having lost all the substance that they have, do at the last in play break forth to the cursing and blaspheming of God[1]. Otherwise there is none so ignorant but knoweth well enough, that such exercises of the wit or body as are free from the poisoned desire of the filthy gain, whereon neither the hurt of our neighbour nor ourself doth depend, are lawful enough to be used of Christians.

Usury.

Usury[2] is, when thou grantest to another the use of thy goods, as of land, houses, money, or any thing else, whereof thou receivest some yearly commodity. For thou hast a manor, a farm, lands, meadows, pastures, vineyards, houses, and money, which thou dost let out to hire unto another man upon a certain covenant of gain to return to

[1 Imp. Justinianus A. Joanni P. P. XV. Alearum usus antiqua res est, et extra opera pugnatoria concessa: verum pro tempore prodiit in lacrymas, extranearum multa nationum suscipiens. Quidam enim ludentes, nec ludum scientes, sed numeratione tantum, proprias substantias perdiderunt, die noctuque ludendo argento, apparatu, lapidibus, et auro: consequenter autem ex hac inordinatione blasphemare Deum conantur, et instrumenta conficiunt. Commodis igitur subjectorum prospicientes, hac generali lege decernimus, ut nulli liceat in publicis vel privatis domibus ludere, neque inspicere, &c.—Codex Justin. Lugd. 1551, Tom. I. p. 515, Lib. III. tit. 43.]

[2 See Jul. Pacii Isagog. in Digest. Lib. XXII. tit. 1. pp. 189—200, Traject. ad Rhen. 1680.]

thee for the use thereof. This bargain, this covenant, is not of itself unlawful, nor yet condemned in the holy scriptures. And the very name of usury is not unhonest of itself: the abuse thereof hath made it unhonest, so that not without a cause it is at this day detested of all men. For usury is in the scripture condemned, so far as it is joined with iniquity and the destruction of our brother or neighbour. For who will forbid to let out the use of our lands, houses, or money to hire, that thereby we may receive some just and lawful commodity? For buying, setting to hire, and such like contracts are lawfully allowed us. And as the part of him that giveth is to do good; so is it the duty of him that taketh not to use a good turn without all manner of recompence, to the hurt and hinderance of him that giveth it. In bestowing of mere benefits there is another consideration, whereof we read in the sixth of Luke: "If ye lend to them, of whom ye hope to receive again," &c. And the lawyers did discuss this matter thus: that it is no usury, when the debtor giveth a pension, and some yearly fee, in recompence of the money which he hath borrowed, saving the principal sum which he hath borrowed whole, by a covenant that was made before of selling it back again; because the thing doth cease to be lent, which is so granted to another man's use, that, unless the debtor will, the creditor cannot claim the thing so long as the debtor payeth his pension; for the assured payment whereof he hath put himself in bond: for such a crediting is a flat contract of buying. They say therefore, that usury is committed in lending alone (which ought to be without hire), and not in other contracts or bargains. Let them therefore, which deal in these kind of trades, have this always before their eyes, as a rule to be led by: "Whatsoever thou wouldest have done to thyself, that do thou to another: and whatsoever thou wouldest not have done to thyself, that do not thou to another[3]." And let them think of those words of the apostle: "Let no man beguile his brother in bargaining." I know very well, that touching money they are wont to allege, that it endureth not as lands and vineyards, but is consumed and made less with use and tossing from man to man; and that therefore

[1 Thess. iv. 6.]

[3 See page 34.]

no commodity ought to be taken for the use thereof[1]. But if a man put money into another man's hand, wherewith he buyeth himself a farm, a manor, lands, or vineyards, or otherwise occupieth it to his gain and profit, I see no cause why a good Christian and an honest man may not reap some lawful commodity of the hire of his money, as well as of the letting or leasing of his land. It is in the power of him which so letteth out his money, with that money to buy a farm, and so to take the whole gain to himself; but now we see that, in letting the other have it, he granteth him the use of his money, whereby he is a very great gainer. This fellow, to whom this sum is lent, or otherwise given upon covenants of contract, doth with the money get some stay of living, with the revenue whereof he nourisheth all his family, paying to his creditor the portion agreed on; of which when he hath once made a full restitution, he maketh the living his own for ever, and acquitteth himself from the yearly pension. In this kind of covenanting no man, I think, will say, that the poor is oppressed, when the thing itself doth rather cry, that by such usury the poor is greatly helped. Usury therefore is forbidden in the word of God, so far forth as it biteth (for here I use the very term of the scriptures[2]) his neighbour, while it hindereth him, or otherwise undoeth him. For thus saith the Lord in Leviticus:

[Lev. xxv. 35—38.] "If thy brother be waxen poor, and fallen in decay[3], whether he be a stranger or indweller, relieve him, that he may live with thee. Thou shalt take no usury of him, or more than right; but fear the Lord, that thy brother may live with thee. Thou shalt not give him thy money upon usury, nor lend him thy victuals for increase[4]. I am the Lord your

[1 Nec vero arguta illa ratio Aristotelis consistit, fœnus esse præter naturam, quia pecunia sterilis est, nec pecuniam parit, &c.—Calvin. Comment. in quat. libr. Mosis. ed. Amstel. 1671, Tom. I. p. 528.]

[2 נֶשֶׁךְ *interest* (from נָשַׁךְ *momordit*) from its involving an injurious, *biting*, system. Lee's Lexicon in voc. and Calvin. Comment. Tom. I. p. 527, col. 2.]

[3 nutaveritque manus ejus tecum, Lat. (and his hand faileth with thee. Auth. Vers. Marg. reading;) id est, si facultas ejus apud te deficere inceperit, Lat., omitted by the translator: that is, if his means with thee begin to fail.]

[4 ad nimium, sive excessum, sive superabundantiam, Lat.; for too large, or for excess and superabundance of, increase.]

God." Therefore the Lord misliketh all arts of covetous and deceitful men, wherewith they do not only exceed measure in exacting usury, but do of purpose let out their money and substance to hire, that by that occasion they may wipe their debtors of all that they have.

No man, I think, can in few words express all the wicked fetches of subtile usurers; they invent such new ones every day. I will therefore recite here the judgment of the Lord against a few wicked arts and detestable deeds of usurers, in lending, letting, and selling; to the end that, these being once considered, all men may judge and take heed of the like. The prophet Amos in the eighth chapter saith: "Hear this, O ye that swallow up the poor, and make the needy of the land to fail, saying: After a month[5] we will sell corn, and at the week's end we will set forth wheat, we will make the ephah small, and the sicle[6] great, and falsify the weights by deceit; that we may buy the poor for silver, and the needy for shoes, and sell the refuse of the wheat. The Lord hath sworn by the excellency of Jacob, Surely I will never forget any of their works. Shall not the land tremble for this? shall not every one mourn that dwelleth therein? and it shall rise up wholly as a flood," &c.

That is, the measure small and the price great.

Wherefore, that the wrath of God may be turned away from falling upon commonweals and kingdoms for unjust extortion in usury and detestable usurers, it is the part of a holy magistrate to bridle usurers with upright laws; and, according to the quality of times, places, states, and persons, to appoint a lawful, just, and honest lucre, that usurers may not, in lending, letting, buying, and selling, oppress the poor people, but that equity and justice may be kept in all things. Of this duty of his the magistrate hath a notable example in Nehemias, suppressing the covetousness, cruelty, and extreme injury of usurers, and other oppressors of his Jewish commonalty. It is at large set down in the fifth chapter of the history of Nehemias. In this therefore, which I have hitherto alleged, I mean not to father or defend unjust occupiers, usurers, or their insatiable covetousness; but I affirm

Against usurers.

[5 The authorised Version has "the new moon;" but in the margin "month."]

[6 So Coverdale's Bible, 1535, has "sycle," from the Latin, *siclum*, shekel. See Becon's Works, Parker Soc. ed. Vol. II. p. 109.]

flatly, that they live of the blood and bowels of their brethren and countrymen, and that they shall be undoubtedly damned, unless they repent them of their sin and extortion. The very law of nature doth make greatly against them, which I object here, and say unto them: "Whatsoever thou wouldest not have done to thyself, that do not thou to another." "The publicans also came to John, that they might be baptized of him, and said, Master, what shall we do? To whom he said: Exact no more than is appointed for you." These publicans were such as lived upon the public toll and customs, which they had farmed at the Romans' hands for a certain sum of ready money. Now, he bade not these publicans to leave off their toll-gathering, but willed them to be content with their appointed duty. In like manner I urge the same sentence, and say to all usurers and occupiers: "Exact no more than is appointed for you." But if ye want a certain constitution and ordinance, set down by the magistrate, for the gain of your money in every several trade; then let equity, humanity, and charity prevail in your minds, and let the common law sink into your hearts, which saith: "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, the same do ye to them." "If thine eye," saith the Lord, "be single, all thy body is lightsome; but if the light that is in thee be darkness, how great then is that darkness!"

[Luke iii. 12, 13.]

Sacrilege.

Sacrilege is the spoiling of holy things which are consecrated to God and the use of the church. For the church of God hath hallowed goods and riches, wherewith it doth partly maintain sincere doctrine and the holy ministry of the church; and partly relieve the needy saints and impotent brethren. The church also hath goods and possessions, to keep the places of prayer, spiritual houses[1], and hospitals[2] in due reparations; and lastly, for the public help of all people in common calamities and grievous afflictions. They therefore are church-robbers, which do convert the church-goods from the lawful and holy purpose, for which they were ordained, into a profane and godless use; spending them prodigally in hunting, gay clothing, superstition, whore-hunting, dicing, drinking, and excessive banqueting: in which things bishops and magistrates of these days do greatly

[1 ædium sacerdotalium, Lat.]

[2 xenodochiorum aut hospitalium, Lat.]

offend[3]. And it cannot otherwise be, but that some great misfortune, and more calamities than one, must needs follow that foul abuse of ecclesiastical riches and spiritual goods. For as Christ our Lord, the very Son of God, is spoiled and defrauded in the poor and needy; so doctrine and godliness come to an end, honest studies do utterly decay, the sheep of Christ are altogether destitute of good and faithful shepherds, and are left for a prey to ravening wolves and merciless robbers. But yet we must have a regard not to account in the number of church-robbers such heads and overseers of holy religion, as some kings of Juda were, but Ezechias especially, and many other bishops and pastors of the primitive church, who, in many troublesome broils, when either wars did waste their countries and commonweals, or else when hunger or some other public calamity did oppress and pinch their silly[4] countrymen, did not stick to bestow the church-goods liberally, and to empty the treasure of the hallowed money, that thereby they might do the poor oppressed some good: but they had undoubtedly been wrongful church-robbers, if they, to spare money and other vessels which are without life, would not have redeemed living creatures, their countrymen, from death and penury. There is an excellent place of this matter in St Ambrose, *Officiorum*, Lib. II. cap. 28[5]. There are also notable examples hereof in the ecclesiastical history[6].

Moreover, in the number of church-robbers divines account Simoniacs, that is, merchants[7], I mean, buyers and Simoniacs.

[3 See Seckendorf. Comm. de Luth. Lib. III. Sect. 21. § LXXVIII. Add. 1.]

[4 silly, see Vol. I. pp. 189, 351.]

[5 The title of this chapter, in the treatise *de Officiis Ministrorum*, is: Misericordiam etiam cum invidia propria largius exercendam: ad quod refertur memorabilis vasorum sacrorum in captivorum redemtionem ab Ambrosio fractorum historia, et pulcherrima de auri et argenti quæ ecclesia possidet legitimo usu præcipiuntur, &c.—Ambrosii Opp. Tom. II. col. 102, Par. 1690.]

[6 In his treatise, *De Episcoporum Instit. et Funct.* Bullinger instances such an example of Achatius, Tripart. Hist. Lib. II. cap. 16, and of Cyril, ibid. Lib. V. cap. 37. He alleges also the examples and words of Ambrose, Laurentius, Exuperius, Jerome, and Augustine: cap. 9. fol. 117, Tigur. 1538.]

[7 Chananæi, Lat. See Hos. xii. 7.]

sellers of spiritual and ecclesiastical dignities. For such an one is Simon Magus, their grand patriarch, reported to have been in the Acts of the Apostles. In the civil law, whosoever went about with privy gifts to buy the voice of any man to speak on his side, when public offices were for to be bestowed, he was guilty of ambition; and, beside the shame and open infamy, was compelled to pay an hundred crowns for his offence[1]. But, because this belongs not to sacrilege, we let it pass, and return to our matter.

[Acts viii. 18, &c.] Ambition.

They are church-robbers, whosoever either do not pay at all, or else do pay unwillingly, the goods that are due to the church; I mean, their tithes and yearly revenues. It is to be seen in the scriptures, how terribly the prophets do threaten church-robbers. Haggeus testified, that the ground brought forth so ill and little fruit for nothing else, but for because the people did not truly pay that which of duty they ought to the temple. In Malachy, God promiseth the people to make their ground fruitful, if they will pay liberally the stipends and tributes due to the temple. Now the ministers of the churches may use those revenues, or stipends, by as good law and right as they that use the profit of the ground, which they themselves have husbanded. For so doth the Lord expressly teach them in the eighteenth of the Book of Numbers; wherewithal Paul's saying agreeth in the ninth chapter of his First Epistle to the Corinthians. And the Lord Jesus himself also gave alms to the poor of the stipend which he had, as it is to be seen in the thirteenth chapter of St John's Gospel.

[Hag. i.]

[Mal. iii. 10—12.]

Moreover, beggars commit sacrilege, who abuse the name of Christ, and make their poverty a cloak to keep them idle still. The apostle commandeth Timothy not to cherish such idle hypocrites and wandering vagabonds with the alms and expenses of the church goods.

[1 Tim. v. 5, &c.]

But now the greatest sacrilege of all is, if a man translate the glory of God, the Creator, unto a creature.

Peculatus.

There is a kind of theft called Peculatus, which is committed in filching the common treasure, or purloining away the prince's substance[2]. This kind of robbery breedeth every

[1 See Jul. Pacii Isagog. in Digest. Lib. XLVIII. tit. 14. p. 422, and Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities, sub voc. *Ambitus*.]

[2 See Jul. Pacii Isagog. in Digest. Lib. XLVIII. tit. 13. p. 421.]

hour new exactions, and giveth wicked magistrates good cause and fit opportunity to poll[3] the poor commonalty. Of this sort of robbers did Cato happily[4] speak, when he said: "Private thieves do lead their lives in chains and fetters, but public thieves in gold and purple[5]." Under this title of robbery are all those contained, that either do not pay at all, or else pay with ill-will, the tributes and taxes that are due to their magistrates. Lastly, all they are counted faulty in this kind of thievery, whosoever do abuse the public wealth or treasure of the commonweal.

Plagium

Other some there are, that take up children, whom they know very well, and sell them to other, thereby to get advantage; or else do steal away other men's servants. This kind of theft the lawyers call Plagium[6]. And of this offence are those people guilty, which, by evil whispering, persuasion, and seditious doctrine, do draw servants and handmaids from obedience to their masters, and children from doing reverence and duty to their parents. And when captains, that are hired of strange princes to serve for money in foreign wars, do, against the parents' will and knowledge, carry away whole bands of silly young men, whom they entice with many fair promises, and entrap with sundry sleights, leading them to wars wherein they perish and never return to their friends again; such captains, I say, are to be reckoned in the number of men-stealers[7]. This offence of old was punished by death,

This is used in no place so much as in Bullinger's own country, where the Swicers, who serve all men for money, do practise it daily.

[3 poll: plunder.] [4 happily, or *haply;* Lat. forte.]

[5 Sed enim M. Cato in oratione, quam de præda militibus dividenda scripsit, vehementibus et illustribus verbis de impunitate peculatus atque licentia conqueritur. Ea verba, quoniam nobis impense placuerunt, adscripsimus: Fures, inquit, privatorum furtorum in nervo atque in compedibus ætatem agunt; fures publici in auro atque in purpura.—A. Gell. Noct. Attic. Lib. XI. cap. 18. See also Becon's Works, Parker Soc. ed. Vol. II. p. 600; and Calvin. Comment. Tom. I. p. 531. col. ii. Amstel. 1671.]

[6 See Jul. Pacii Isagog. in Digest. Lib. XLVIII. tit. 15. p. 422, and Smith's Dict. sub voc. *plagium.*]

[7 "By a law no less politic than humane, established among the cantons (of Switzerland), their troops were not hired out by public authority to both the contending parties in any war. This law the love of gain had sometimes eluded, and private persons had been allowed to enlist in what service they pleased, though not under the public banners, but under those of their officers."—Robertson's Hist. of Charles V. book II. Vol. II. p. 189, Lond. 1782.]

as it is evident in the twenty-first of Exodus, and in the law of Constantine, which is to be seen *Cod.* Lib. IX. tit. 20[1].

Abigei[2]. Another sort of thieves there is, which we call felons; and those be they which steal and drive away other men's cattle. In this order of thieves are those people placed, which do misuse the cattle that is lent them; and they also, which, when they may, will not help another man's cattle that is in jeopardy: for the Lord in the law commanded [Deut. xxii. 1, &c.] to bring back that which goeth astray, and to restore it to the right owner.

Thus much hitherto have I spoken, my brethren, touching the sundry kinds of theft, of the just and lawful getting of goods, and also of the proper owning of peculiar riches.

OF THE LAWFUL USE OF EARTHLY GOODS; THAT IS, HOW WE MAY RIGHTLY POSSESS, AND LAWFULLY SPEND, THE WEALTH THAT IS RIGHTLY AND JUSTLY GOTTEN: OF RESTITUTION, AND ALMS-DEEDS.

THE SECOND SERMON.

I DID in my last Sermon, dearly beloved, declare unto you, by what means goods are rightly gotten, and how many kinds of theft there be, and sundry sorts of getting wealth unlawfully. There is yet behind another treatise for me to add, and therein to teach you what is the true use of goods rightly gotten, and how we may lawfully possess them, and justly spend and dispose them in this transitory life.

[1 Imp. Constantinus A. ad Celerem vicarium Africæ XVI. Plagiarii, qui viventium filiorum miserandas infligunt parentibus orbitates, metalli pœna cum ceteris ante cognitis suppliciis teneantur. Si quis tamen ejusmodi reus fuerit oblatus, posteaquam super crimine claruerit; servus quidem, vel libertate donatus, bestiis subjiciatur; ingenuus autem gladio consumatur. D. Kal. Augu. Constantino A. IIII. et Licinio. Coss.—Codex Justin. Lugd. 1551, Tom. II. p. 701, Lib. IX, tit. 20.]

[2 Abigei dicuntur, qui gregem ovium aut pecorum—vel equum de grege, vel bovem de armento abducunt.—Jul. Pacii Isagog. in Instit. Lib. XLVII. tit. 14. p. 406, Traject. ad Rhen. 1680.]

For justice doth not only not defraud any man, but doth, so much as it may, endeavour itself to do good to all men; neither is it enough for a godly man not to hurt any body, unless also he do good to all that he can. And in this point do many men sin, while they are persuaded that they have done all the duty that they owe, if they hurt no man, and if they possess that which they have without trouble to any man; although in the meanwhile they have no regard, whether they help or do good to any man, or no. And he sinneth as greatly in the sight of the Lord, which doth not use rightly goods justly gotten, as he that hath heaped up wealth in wickedness and naughty means. I will tell you therefore, so far as God shall give me grace, how, and in what sort, godly men may holily possess and dispose these earthly goods.

Nothing of another man's must be possessed.

First of all, that the use of worldly wealth may be healthful to the owner, holy men have a diligent care, that nothing of another man's remain in their possession: that is, they do carefully separate wealth rightly come by from unjust-gotten goods, and do faithfully restore whatsoever they find, in that which they have, to belong of right unto other men. For they are throughly persuaded, and do verily believe, that by this means the wealth that is left them, although by restitution it be somewhat diminished, will yet notwithstanding prosper the better, endure the longer, and be far more fruitful unto them.

Restitution is necessary.

Now this restitution is flatly commanded, and also very necessary to be put in practice: for the Lord in the law doth by sundry means, and that very carefully, give charge of it too, as is to be seen in the twenty-second of Exodus. Exod. xxii. Moreover, so often as the just and holy commandment of God was, through the covetousness and wickedness of mankind, cast off and neglected, the Lord raised up grievous and almost unspeakable evils against the contemners thereof, and scattered abroad the unjust-gotten goods by wars, mishaps, and divers calamities. For the prophet Esay crieth, saying: "The Lord shall enter into judgment with the elders and princes of his people, and shall say unto them, It is ye that have burnt up my vineyard, the spoil of the poor is in your houses." Isai. iii. And Amos in the third chapter of his prophecy crieth: "They store up treasures in their palaces by violence

and robbery. Therefore thus saith the Lord God: Miseries shall invade thee on every side of the land, and thy enemies shall bring down thy strength, or riches, from thee, and thy palaces shall be spoiled." We read therefore in the gospel, that Zacheus, of his own accord, promised restitution four-fold double, that is, a full and absolute recompence of whatsoever he had taken wrongfully away; and it is assuredly certain, that he performed that promise: for he understood by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, that a restitution of his ill-gotten goods was especially necessary, and that he should never be happy until he had made a full amends for all his wrongful dealings. Very rightly therefore said St Augustine in his fifty-fourth epistle to Macedonius, where he writeth: "If, when thou mayest, thou dost not restore that which thou hast of another man's goods, then is not repentance truly performed, but falsely feigned: but if repentance be truly taken, then is not sin forgiven, unless restitution be made of that which was taken away; but, as I said, when it may be restored[1]."

Luke xix.

When restitution is to be made.

But touching the time, when restitution ought to be made, the example of Zacheus teacheth us; who, so soon as he was received unto the favour of Christ, and did understand the works of truth and equity, did immediately promise restitution, and out of hand perform the same. Wherefore we must not foad off from day to day to make restitution. No man hath need to double his offence. For thou needest not by thy morrow and over-morrow delays to augment his discommodity and hinderance any longer, from whom thou hast, by thy subtil means and wicked violence, wrested the goods that he hath; considering, that he to his loss hath lacked them long enough, and been without them too long, God wot[2].

To whom restitution is to be made.

If thou demandest, to whom thou oughtest to make restitution? I answer, to him from whom thou tookest it, if thou knowest from whom thou hast had it, and who it is whom thou hast defrauded. But by that means, sayest thou, I shall bring myself into obloquy and infamy. I bid thee not

[1 Si enim res aliena, propter quam peccatum est, quum reddi possit, non redditur, non agitur pœnitentia, sed fingitur: si autem veraciter agitur, non remittetur peccatum, nisi restituatur ablatum; sed, ut dixi, cum restitui potest.—Aug. Opp. Par. 1531, Tom. II. fol. 48, col. 4.]

[2 This expression is the translator's.]

do so: but, if thou didst invent a means to take it, then find out some handsome way to restore it again, whereby thou mayest escape and not incur the note of infamy. And pray to the Lord, that he will vouchsafe to shew thee a ready way and apt for to accomplish the thing that thou mindest. If thou meanest in good sadness[3] to make true restitution, thou shalt undoubtedly find a way to do it without reproach and obloquy. But if thou dost but dally and jest with the Lord, thou wilt not be without a thousand excuses, the best and the soundest whereof will never set thy conscience at quiet liberty. Neither is God mocked. I cannot tell, sayest thou, from whom I have taken it, and therefore I know not to whom I should restore it. If in very deed thou knowest not from whom thou hast taken it; then hast thou the poor and needy, on whom to bestow it: to those thou oughtest to deal thy unjust-gotten goods, and not to superstition, or the ministers thereof.

How much every one ought to restore.

Now, let every one make restitution of so much as he hath taken away; or at the least, of so much as he is able to restore. For many have spent, and so prodigally wasted other men's goods, that they are not able to make restitution of any thing again. Let such fellows acknowledge their fault, and repent their folly, from the bottom of their hearts. And if it happen at any time afterward that they come by goods, then let them be so much more liberal of their own, as before they were prodigal in spending other men's. But if all the riches which thou possessest be other men's goods, and gotten of thee by theft and robbery, so that, if thou madest a full restitution, there should no penny be left for thee, but that thou must needs go beg; then art thou verily hard bestead, and in too woeful a taking; yea, thou art mad and far beside thyself, if thou wilt not stick, but still go on to paint thy pride, and maintain a port with other men's pence, and satisfy thy lust in the bowels, blood, and sweat of poor men's brows. Why dost thou not rather abase thy self to poverty, and use thy unjust-gotten goods, as needy people use their alms? For thou livest of that that should be the poor's. Therefore lay down thy pride, and forsake thy ruffling[4]

Good counsel or advice.

[3 sadness: seriousness, earnestness.]

[4 ruffling: to ruffle, to put out of form or discompose; but used by old writers to signify the acting in a rough, turbulent, or disorderly manner.—Toone's Glossary.]

riot. Consider with thyself, who thou art, and whereupon thou livest: and still do thy endeavour to make restitution, so far as thou canst; and let it grieve thee to see thyself not able to restore the whole again. If it be not a grief to thee for a time to suffer poverty, to labour and faithfully to exercise some honest occupation, and to train up thy children, leading them as it were by the hand, to work; then thou shalt not want whereon to live, although thou restorest all, whatsoever thou hast, of other men's goods. But there is very small and almost no faith at all in many men; whereby it cometh to pass, that very few, or none, can be persuaded to make true restitution. To this I add (before I go any further) that they ought especially to think of a restitution, which have with evil words corrupted the minds of simple souls; with privy backbiting raised slanders on other men; or with perverse counsel stirred up the mightier men against the weaker sort: for these things do pass and are far above all earthly riches.

Ample or large discourses have been made touching restitution.

Thus much have I said hitherto touching restitution, of which other men have left very ample discourses. I for my part do see, that to a godly mind this work of restitution is short and plain enough; and therefore have I spoken of it so shortly as I have. For a godly and well disposed man doth with all his heart desire and seek to obey the law of God; and therefore, by calling to God for aid, he shall easily find a way to work justice and equity. As for those whose desire is rather to seem just men than to be just indeed, and do love this world more than it becometh them to do; they, with their over many questions and innumerable perchances and putcases[1], do make the treatise of restitution so tedious and intricate, that no man shall ever be able to make it so plain that they will understand it. I will not therefore answer them any more, but only warn them to examine their own conscience, and see what that doth bid them do. Now I would have that conscience of theirs to be settled in, and be mindful of, the general law, which saith: "Whatsoever thou wouldest have done to thyself, that do thou to another; and whatsoever thou wouldest not have done to thyself, that do not thou to another."

[1 *put case*, an elliptical expression for *suppose that it may be so*. Johnson.]

After this now I will somewhat freely discourse upon the just possessing, using, or disposing of well-gotten earthly substance. First of all, no man must put any confidence in riches, which are indeed things transitory and do quickly decay: we must not settle our minds upon nor be in love with them; but by all means take heed that they drive us not to idolatry, nor hinder the course that we have to pass. Heaven is the goal whereat we run[2]. Here again we must all give ear to the divine and heavenly words uttered by the prophet David, who said: "Put your trust in God always, pour out your hearts before him; for God is our refuge. As for the children of men, they be but vain: the children of men are deceitful upon the weights, they are altogether lighter than vanity itself. Trust not in wrong and robbery, give not yourselves to vanity: if riches increase, set not your hearts upon them[3]." The apostle Paul, being endued with the same spirit, biddeth us to use the world and worldly things, as though we used them not[4]. Again, he calleth covetousness the worshipping of idols; and chargeth rich men not to put their trust in uncertain riches, but in the living God, who ministereth to all creatures living sufficiently enough. And therefore the Lord in the gospel forbiddeth to heap up treasures upon earth.

We must not set our minds on riches.

Psal. lxii.

[Coloss. iii. 5.] [1 Tim. vi. 17.]

Now, on the other side, we are not bidden by the apostles to spend our goods prodigally, in riot and wantonness. For we may not abuse the wealth, that the Lord hath lent us, in pride and luxury, as many do, who lash out all in dicing, sumptuous building, strange clothing, excessive drinking, and over-dainty banqueting. The end and destruction of such kind of people the Lord doth very finely[5], though not without terror to them that hear it, set down in the parable of the rich glutton, who, after his delicate fare and costly apparel, was after this life tormented in hell with unspeakable thirst, and toasted there with unquenchable fire. Therefore these temporal goods must be rightly, holily, and moderately used, without excess.

Prodigality forbidden.

Every man must acknowledge these terrestrial goods to be the mere and free gifts of our bountiful and heavenly Father,

Riches are the gift of God for

[2 Ad cœlos tendimus, Lat.]
[3 See Prayer-book Version.]
[4 1 Cor. vii. 31. See page 31.] [5 venuste, Lat.]

which he must be thanked.

and not to be given for our deserts, or gotten by our might. For we have of God's liberality all things necessary to maintain our lives. It is the Lord which blesseth and doth prosper our labour. Finally, they are not evil, but the good gifts of God, which he giveth to the maintenance of our lives, and not to our destruction: the fault is in ourselves, that riches are a snare to bring many men to evil ends. Moreover, the Lord himself requireth, and in his word commandeth us, to be thankful unto him for his good benefits bestowed on us; to use them with thanksgiving; to praise his name for all things; and to rejoice in his fatherly goodness shewed unto us. For thus doth Moses, the servant of God, in Deuteronomy, charge the Israelites[1]: "When thou hast eaten therefore, and filled thyself, then thank the Lord thy God in that good land which he hath given thee. Beware that thou forget not the Lord thy God, that thou wouldest not keep his commandments, his laws and ordinances, which I command thee this day: yea, and when thou hast eaten, and filled thyself, and hast built goodly houses, and dwellest therein; and when thy beasts and thy sheep are waxen many, and thy silver and thy gold is multiplied, and all that thou hast is increased; then beware, lest thine heart rise, and thou forget the Lord thy God, which brought thee out of the land of Egypt, and from the house of bondage. Say not then in thine heart, My power and the might of mine own hand hath prepared me this abundance. Remember the Lord thy God: for it is he that giveth thee power to get substance, &c." Moreover Paul the apostle saith, that all the creatures of God are good, created to the good and preservation of us men; and biddeth us use them with the fear of God and giving of thanks. And again: "Whether ye eat or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God." And in another place: "Let your manners be far from covetousness; and be content with the things that ye have: for he hath said, I do not forsake, nor leave thee. So that we may boldly say, The Lord is my helper, I will not fear what man can do unto me."

[Deut. viii.]

[1 Tim. iv. 4.]

[1 Cor. x. 31.]

[Heb. xiii. 5, 6.]

[1 Dominus Deus tuus dabit tibi terram præstantissimam, in qua nulla re indigebis, Lat. omitted by the translator; The Lord thy God shall give thee a most excellent land, wherein thou shalt not lack any thing.]

Let earthly goods also serve our necessity. Now necessity requireth a commodious dwelling-place, so much victuals as are sufficient, comely apparel, and honest company-keeping with our neighbours and equals. Let every man measure and esteem these circumstances, first by his own person, then by his family or household. For an householder must warily provide and foresee, that no necessary thing be wanting in his family. Of this care of the householder there are sundry testimonies of scripture extant; but specially that of St Paul, in the fifth chapter of his first epistle to Timothy. And here note, that by necessity all things are meant, which the body or life of man doth necessarily require and stand in need of; and finally, whatsoever the honesty and beseeming of every man doth crave or demand. And thus far verily, and to this end or purpose, it is lawful for any man to lay somewhat up in store against years to come. The man, whose charge is much in keeping a great house, hath need of the more to maintain it withal: and he, whose family is not so big, needeth so much the less as his house is the smaller. And one state of life, and a greater port, becometh a magistrate; when another countenance, and a lower sail, beseemeth a private person. But in these cases let every man consider what necessity requireth, not what lust and rioting will egg him unto. Let him think with himself, what is seemly and unseemly for one of his degree.

Goods serve to supply our necessity.

And yet we do not in this treatise make so strict a definition of necessity, as that thereby we do utterly condemn all pleasure and moderate liberty for sensuality and luxury. For I know that God hath granted and given to man, not only the use of necessity,—I mean, the use of those things which we as men cannot be without,—but also doth allow him all moderate pleasures wherewithal to delight him. Let no man therefore make scruple of conscience in the sweet and pleasant use of earthly goods, as though with that sweet pleasure which he enjoyeth he sinned against God; but let him which maketh conscience, make it rather in the just and lawful use of those terrestrial riches. For the Lord hath in no place forbidden mirth, joy, and the sweet use of wealth, so far forth that nothing be done undecently, unthankfully, or unrighteously. For the prophet Jeremy, alluding to the promises of God's law contained in the twenty-sixth of Levi-

Necessity excludeth not allowed pleasure.

ticus and the twenty-eighth of Deuteronomy, saith: "They shall come and rejoice in Sion, and shall have plenteousness of goods which the Lord shall give them, namely, in wheat, wine, oil, young sheep and calves; and their soul shall be as a well watered garden; for they shall no more be sorrowful. Then shall the maid rejoice in the dance, yea, both young and old folks: for I will turn their sorrow into gladness, and will comfort them, and make them merry. I will make drunken the hearts of the priests with fat, and my people shall be filled with my goodness, saith the Lord." Jeremy thirty-first. Moreover[1] in the fourth chapter of the third book of Kings we read: "And under Solomon they increased, and were many in number, as the sand of the sea, eating and drinking, and making merry[2]." Again, in the eighth chapter of the same book we find: "And Solomon made a solemn feast, and all Israel with him, a very great congregation, which came together out from among all the people, even from the entering in of Hemath unto the river of Egypt, before the Lord seven days and seven days, that is, fourteen days in all. Afterward he sent away the people, and they thanked the king, and went unto their tents very joyfully, and with glad hearts, because of all the goodness that the Lord had done for David his servant, and for Israel his people[3]." Like unto this is that which we read in the eighth chapter of Nehemias, in these words: "And Esdras, with the Levites, said to all the people which was sad and sorrowful, This day is holy unto the Lord your God: be not ye sorry, and weep ye not; but go your way to eat the fat, and drink the sweet, and send part unto them that have not, &c." And the Lord, verily, doth not require us men to be without all sense and feeling of those pleasures which he of his grace hath given us to enjoy; neither would he have us to be altogether benumbed, like blocks and stocks and senseless stones: for he himself hath graffed in us all the sense and feeling of good and evil, of sweet and sour. And the same our God and Maker hath, of his eternal goodness and wisdom, ordained a certain natural excellency in his creatures, and

[1 in sacra historia, Lat. omitted; in the sacred history.]

[2 1 Kings (commonly called, The Third Book of the Kings, Auth. Ver.) iv. 20.—In Juda et Israela, Lat. omitted by the translator.]

[3 universo populo, Lat.]

hath adorned them, and made them so delectable, that we may delight in and desire them; yea, and that more is, our God hath planted in them a nourishing force and virtue to cherish us men, and to keep our bodies in fair and good liking. For David saith: "And (he maketh grow out of the earth) wine that maketh glad the heart of man, and oil to make him have a cheerful countenance, and bread to strengthen man's heart. The trees of the Lord are full of sap, wherein the birds make their nests, and sing, &c." Moreover, it is reported that Jacob, the patriarch, did drink to drunkenness; and of Joseph and his brethren the scripture saith: "And in drinking with him they were made drunken with wine[4]." Now no man will take this drunkenness of theirs for that excessive bibbing, which the holy scripture doth every where condemn; but for a certain sweet and pleasant measure in drinking, wherewith being once satisfied they were made the merrier. For that mad kind of drunkenness bereaves the senses, and is so far from causing men to be jocund and merry, that, clean contrariwise, it maketh them wayward, uncivil, out of order, beastly, swinelike, and filthy. A like phrase of speech useth Haggeus the prophet, where he saith: "Consider your own ways in your hearts; ye sow much, but ye bring little in; ye eat, but ye have not enough; ye drink, but not unto drunkenness:" that is, not unto sweet and pleasant sufficiency, that, being filled and jocund therewith, ye need desire no more, but for that plenty give thanks to the Lord, your good benefactor, for bestowing it on you. This do I somewhat more largely declare, because of the Anabaptists[5], and certain senseless Stoics, and other new sprung up hypocrites, the Carthusian monks[6], who, as they go about to make men mere blocks, so do they, with most tragical outcries, condemn utterly all allowable pleasure and

[Psal. civ. 15, &c.]

The common English translation hath, they were made merry.

[Hag. i. 6.]

[4 There seems to be some oversight in the mention of Jacob. Concerning Gen. xliii. 34, Ainsworth, in loc. remarks: "largely drank, or drunk themselves merry: were drunken, which word is used for large drinking unto mirth, but with sobriety, Hag. i. 6; John ii. 10".]

[5 Bullinger, adv. Anabap. Lib. I. cap. 10, Tigur. 1560.]

[6 The Carthusian order of Monks, so called from their first settlement at Chartreuse, near Grenoble in France, arose in the year 1084 or 1086. They were a branch of the Benedictines, and were the most austere of all the religious sects.—Mosheim, Cent. XI. Part 2. Book 3. chap. 2. § 27.]

lawful delights. They, to colour and commend their odd opinion to the ears of men, abuse many places of the sacred [Luke vi. 25.] scriptures: "Woe (say they) to you which now are full, and do laugh now; for the time will come, when ye shall hunger and weep:" when as indeed this and such like sayings were uttered of God against the wicked, and such as do unthankfully abuse the benefits and creatures of their good God. And therefore, for a conclusion of that which I have hitherto said, I add this; that godly men must still take careful heed, that they let not loose the reins to lust, and so exceed the golden mean[1]. For mean and measure in these allowed pleasures also is liked and looked for, as well as in other things.

Riches must serve to do honour, and shew courteous behaviour between man and man.

Furthermore, let goods and earthly substance serve to do honour, and shew curteise[2] humanity in one man to another. For we do of duty owe honour and humanity to our kinsfolks and alliance, our friends and acquaintance, our countrymen and strangers. For we must not only do good to them that are familiar with us, but to them also whom we did never see before, in keeping hospitality for wayfaring strangers, so far as our substance will stretch to maintain it. For if otherwise thy wealth be slender, as that it will do no more but maintain thine own house and family, no parcel of God's law[3] doth bind or bid thee to distribute to other men the wealth which thou thyself dost need as much or more than they. It is sufficient for thee to provide that they of thine own household be not a burden to other men's backs. So then the man, whose wealth is small, is not compelled to spend that little which he hath[4] in doing honour or shewing courtesy to other men: it is enough for him to bear with a valiant heart his own hard hap, and to take heed that his poverty procure him not to offend against right and honesty. Let those who are indifferently stored[5], and richer men who have wealth at will, be courteous and liberal to entertain strangers with frank hospitality. Let their minds be set to use liberality to their own praise and honesty, and not given to filthy greediness and unhonest sparing of every odd halfpenny. For some thou shalt find, who, though they be indifferent well stored with

[1 ne quid nimis, Lat.] [2 i. e. courteous.]
[3 nulla Dei vel æqua lex, Lat.; no law of God or equity.]
[4 quod non habet, Lat.; that which he hath not.]
[5 mediocres, Lat.]

wealth and possessions, are yet notwithstanding so wholly given over to the gathering of more, that neither for their own honesty's sake, nor for any shew of courtesy, they will once bestow a dodkin[6] upon any man whatsoever, be he their own countryman, or a stranger unknown. These kind of fellows are always chambered, and keep themselves close in secret counting-houses; their bags are their pillows whereon they sleep and dream of their ruddocks[7]; they are not seen to stir abroad, lest peradventure occasion should be offered them to give entertainment, or to shew some civility to aliens and strangers. The scripture doth give a far better report of the most holy and famous patriarchs, our grand predecessors.

The patriarchs' hospitality. [Gen. xix.]

Lot sat in the gates of Sodom to wait for strangers and wayfaring men, to the end he might take them home to his house, and give them entertainment so well as he could. And if it fell out that he met with a stranger, he did not desire him home to his house for fashion's sake only, that is, with faint or feigned words; but he used in earnest all the means he could to compel him perforce to take up his inn, and lodge with him that night. Of our father Abraham ye read in Genesis, that in the very heat of the day, as he sat [Gen. xviii.] in the door of his tent, he espied three men that were travellers, whom at the first sight, although he knew them not, he entertained very lovingly, and bade them welcome heartily. For he stayeth not to look when they should come and request to refresh themselves with him; but starteth up, and meeteth them before they come to the door of his tent, where he himself preventeth them in speaking first unto them; and, when he had courteously after his country-manner with obeisance saluted them, he biddeth them very lovingly home to his house, and saith: "I beseech thee, my Lord, if I may find favour in thy sight, pass not away, I pray thee, from thy servant." Lo, here he calleth a traveller, and a stranger too, by the name of Lord (even as we Germans, in the entertaining of strangers, are wont to say: *Sind mir*

We say in English, Sir.

[6 teruncium, Lat. Dodkin, a small coin, the eighth part of a stiver, a little doit: used as a contemptuous term for things of the smallest value.—Toone's Glossary.]

[7 This is a free translation of the original Latin,—saccis indormiunt. Ruddock, the bird called the robin red-breast: it is also metaphorically used to signify gold coin.—Toone's Glossary.]

Gott wol kommen, lieben herren und guten freunde.) And although he were in the land, where he dwelt, a man of high authority and very great name, yet notwithstanding he did, as it were, forget himself and say: "Pass not, I pray thee, away from thy servant." He calleth himself a servant of strangers. He goeth on moreover, and saith: "Let a little water be fet[1], and wash your feet, and refresh yourselves under the tree. And I will fet a morsel of bread to comfort your hearts; and then shall ye go on your way." In these few words he containeth, in a manner, all the points of civil courtesy. Neither did Abraham use these words to make a shew only of bounteous liberality: but when he had by entreaty requested them to stay, and by their grant obtained his desire, he bestirreth his stumps to accomplish in deeds the thing that he had promised; he maketh haste to Sara, which was in the tent, and saith: "Make ready at once three measures of fine meal, knead it, and make cakes." The scripture yet addeth further this clause: "And Abraham, running unto his beasts, caught a calf tender and good, and gave it to a young man, which hasted, and made it ready at once. And he took butter and milk, and the calf which he had prepared, and set it before them, and stood himself with them;" that is, did himself serve them, as they ate under the tree. This is wonderful verily, and to be thought on deeply. Those goods were well and worthily bestowed upon so bountiful, liberal, and courteous a man as Abraham was, which knew how to use his wealth so honestly and with so commendable courtesy. Neither was he alone in all his house so frank and liberal; as his wife and family were readily given and very willing to put that holy exercise in ure and practice. All things therefore were ready with a trice. In making preparation, also, no diligence was wanting; choice was made of all things; for riffraffe and refuse-gear was not served to these strangers, but the best and likeliest of all that was found. The good man himself taketh pains like a servant. He himself bringeth in his country fare, which far doth excel all costly cates and princelike dishes; and setteth his guests to meat with butter and milk, and serveth the last course with veal, well fed, and housewife-like dressed. Neither was he content with this courtesy and entertainment,

Or pecks.

[1 fet: fetched.]

but humbled himself further yet, and waited at the table, while his guests were at meat. The table, lo, was served by him, which had those great and ample promises made him by God; which is the father of all the faithful, which is the root and grandsire of Christ our Lord, which was the friend of God and confederate to puissant kings, being himself the most honourable prince in all the land, as he that had in war overcome and vanquished four of the mightiest kings of all the East, and brought them back again to slavery and bondage, delivering his people whom they had taken captive.

This excellent and worthy man, I say, may well be a pattern for all wealthy men to follow, in bestowing honour, courtesy, and hospitality upon strangers and men unknown. For, lastly, beside his rare and seldom seen hospitality, he shewed moreover this point of courtesy, that, when they rose from meat, he bare them company some part of the way. Let our wealthy pinchpence, therefore, at the last be ashamed of, and leave their niggish lives and insatiable covetousness. What pleasure, I pray you, have they of their riches? to whom do they good? whom do they honour with their close-kept coin? Or what honour or honesty doth their money procure or get them, while they live among men? Why do not the wiser sort of wealthy men rather leave this crew of miserable wretches, and hearken to the apostle's words, who saith, "Remember to keep hospitality; for by that means many have lodged angels unwittingly and unawares?" And verily, he speaketh there of Lot and Abraham. Neither is it to be doubted, but that we entertain the very angels of God, and Christ himself, as often as we shew courtesy and hospitality to good and godly mortal men. [Heb. xiii. 2.]

Goods must serve to relieve the poor.

Lastly, let the goods of wealthy men serve, not to the entertainment of men of credit only, but to the relief also of poor and needy creatures. For that wholesome saying of Paul must be beaten into their heads: "Charge them that are rich that they do good, that they be rich in good works, that they be ready to give, glad to distribute, laying up in store for themselves a good foundation against the time to come, that they may lay hold upon eternal life." With this doctrine of the apostle[2] doth the prophet Esay very well [1 Tim. vi. 17–19.]

[2 congruit prophetica per omnia. Isaias enim &c., Lat.; the doctrine of the prophets agrees in all points. For Isaiah &c.]

[Isai. xxiii. 18.] agree, where he saith touching Tyre: "Their occupying also and their wares shall be holy unto the Lord: their gains shall not be laid up nor kept in store; but it shall be theirs that dwell before the Lord, that they may eat enough, and have clothing sufficient." Lo, here Esaias teacheth us the means to lay up treasure that ever shall endure. Moreover, in the sixth chapter of Matthew the very same is repeated that was spoken of before. Let every one also call to his memory the other wholesome sentences of the Lord his God, to stir him up to the giving of alms. In [Deut. xv.] Deuteronomy Moses saith: "Beware that thou harden not thine heart, nor shut to thine hand from thy needy brother: but open thine hand liberally unto him. Thou shalt give him, and let it not grieve thine heart to give unto him: because that for this thing the Lord thy God shall enrich and bless thee in all thy works, and in all thou puttest thine hand unto. The Lord[1] shall never be without poor; and therefore I command thee, saying, Open thine hand liberally unto thy brother that is poor and needy in the land." In the [Psal. cxii. 5, 9.] Psalms we find: "A good man is merciful, and lendeth; and guideth his words with discretion. He disperseth abroad, and giveth to the poor: his righteousness remaineth for ever; his horn shall be exalted with honour." Solomon also saith: [Prov. iii.] "Let mercy, or well-doing, or faithfulness never part from thee: bind them about thy neck, and write them in the tables of thine heart; so shalt thou find favour and good estimation in the sight of God and men." Again, "Honour the Lord with thy substance, and of the firstlings of all thine increase give to the poor: so shall thy barns be filled with plenteousness, and thy presses shall flow over with sweet wine." And [Prov. xxi. 13.] again, "Whosoever stoppeth his ear at the cry of the poor, he shall cry himself, and not be heard." With these in all points do the sayings of the apostles and evangelists plainly [Matt. v. 42.] agree. "Give to every one that asketh of thee." Again: [Matt. xxv. 40.] "Verily, I say unto you, inasmuch as ye have shewed mercy to the least of these my brethren, ye have shewed it to me." Which sentence surely is worthy to be noted, and deeply printed in the hearts of all Christians. For if the Lord Jesus reputeth that to be bestowed on himself, which thou bestowest on the poor; then undoubtedly he thinketh himself

[1 A misprint in all the editions for "the land."]

neglected and despised of thee, so often as thou neglectest or despisest the needy. This is undoubtedly true and most surely certain: for the Lord and Judge of all people assureth us by promise, that at the end of the world, in that last judgment, he will give sentence in this manner and order: "Come, ye blessed of my Father, possess the kingdom, &c. For I was hungry, and ye gave me meat; I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink:" and so forward, as is to be seen in the twenty-fifth chapter of St Matthew's Gospel. Hereunto also belongeth the words of St John the apostle, where he saith: "Whoso hath this world's good, and seeth his brother have need, and shutteth up his compassion from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him?" And from hence, undoubtedly, did first arise the common voice of them of old, which were wont to say: "If thou seest a needy body die with hunger, and dost not help him, while thou mayest, thou hast killed him, and given consent unto his death[2]." Let him therefore, which hath store of earthly goods, know for a surety, and in his heart be throughly persuaded, that he is bound especially to do good to the needy. [1 John iii. 17.]

Moreover let him that is wealthy do good to all men, so near as he can. For the Lord saith: "Give to every one that asketh of thee." And Tobias giveth his son this lesson, saying: "Turn not thy face from any poor man[3]." But if thou canst not, through lack of ability, do good to all men, then succour them chiefly whom thou perceivest to be godly-disposed, and yet pinched with penury: for St Paul saith, "Let us do good to all men, but to them especially that are of the household of faith." Let us therefore aid, succour, and relieve fatherless children and poor widows, old men and impotent people, those that are afflicted and persecuted for the profession of the truth, and such as are oppressed with any misery and calamity. Let us further and help forward good and holy learning, and all the worshippers and true ministers of God that live in want and scarcity. Finally, let us relieve strangers, and whomsoever else we may. To whom we must do good. [Gal. vi. 10.]

[2 See Bingham, Antiq. of Christ. Church, Book xvi. chap. 10. sect. 15.]

[3 Tobit iv. 7. This lesson is given by Tobit to his son, Tobias, according to the authorised Version; but in the Vulgate the names of the father and son are alike Tobias; as also in the earlier English translation of the Bible.]

How we ought to do good.

Now our duty is to aid, and stand them in stead, with counsel, comfort, help, money, meat, drink, lodging, raiment, commendations, and with all things else wherein we perceive that they lack our helping hand: touching which I spake somewhat in the tenth sermon of the first Decade[1]. We must also succour them readily, with a willing heart and a cheerful mind: "for God requireth a cheerful giver." And in helping them let us do liberally: for Tobias saith, "Be merciful after thy power[2]: If thou have much, give plenteously; if thou have little, do thy diligence gladly to give of that little. For in so doing the Lord shall bless both thee and thine."

[2 Cor. ix. 7.]

How far we must do good.

Thus much, my brethren, have I hitherto said touching the lawful use of earthly goods. God grant that every one of you may print these sayings in his heart, and put in practice this holy work. Let us pray to the Lord that he will vouchsafe so to direct us in his ways, that for the getting of those transitory goods we lose not the everlasting treasure of his heavenly kingdom.

OF THE PATIENT BEARING AND ABIDING OF SUNDRY CALAMITIES AND MISERIES: AND ALSO OF THE HOPE AND MANIFOLD CONSOLATION OF THE FAITHFUL.

THE THIRD SERMON.

I SHALL not do amiss, I think, my reverend[3] brethren, if to the treatise which I have already made of earthly riches, and of the use and abuse of the same, I do here also add a discourse of the divers calamities, wherewith man, so long as he liveth in this frail flesh, is continually vexed and daily afflicted. For since that many men do either lose their temporal goods, or else can by no means get them, which are the causes why they be oppressed with penury and neediness; it cannot be but profitable and very necessary too for every good man to know out of the word of God the very reason

[1 Vol. I. p. 188.]

[2 quomodo potueris, ita esto misericors, Lat. and Vulgate. This sentence, however, is omitted in the authorised Version, though retained in the service of the Offertory in the Book of Common Prayer, and given in Coverdale's Bible, 1535.]

[3 fratres honorandi, Lat.]

and ground of his consolation in his miseries; lest, being swallowed up of too great sorrow, and entangled in utter desperation, he give himself over to be Satan's bond-slave. Now this treatise serveth for the whole life of man. For I mean not to speak of any one calamity alone, as of poverty, or penury, but generally of all the miseries that happen to man. Verily, since man is born to grief and misery, as birds to flying[4] and fishes to swimming; his life can never possibly be either sweet or quiet, unless he know the manner and reason of his calamity. And if so be he know the reason thereof, religiously taken and derived out of the word of God; then his life cannot choose but be sweet and quiet, howsoever otherwise it seem to be most bitter and intolerable. The mind of man, verily, is sorely afflicted and grievously tormented with lamentable miseries; but the same, on the other side, is sweetly eased and mightily upholden by the true knowledge of those miseries, and holy consolations, derived and taken out of the word of God.

The kinds of calamities.

First of all, it is requisite to lay before our eyes and reckon up the several kinds and especial sorts of mortal men's calamities. The evils verily are innumerable, which daily fall upon our necks; but those which do most usually happen are the plague or pestilence, sundry and infinite diseases, death itself, and the fear of death, whose terror to some is far more grievous than death can be. To these be added the death and destruction of most notable men, or such of whom we make most account; robberies, oppressions, endless ill chances, poverty, beggary, lack of friends, infamy, banishment, persecution, imprisonment, enforced torments, and exquisite punishments of sundry sorts and terrible to think on, unseasonable and tempestuous weather, barrenness, dearth, frost, hail, deluges, earthquakes, the sinking of cities, the spoiling of fields, the burning of houses, the ruin of buildings, hatred, factions, privy grudges, treasons, rebellions, wars, slaughters, captivity, cruelty of enemies, and tyranny; also the lack of children; or troubles, cares, and hellish lives[5] by the matching of unmeet mates in wedlock, by children naugh-

[4] Job v. 7: homo nascitur ad laborem, et avis ad volatum.—Vulgate. "Man is borne unto mysery, like as the byrde for to fle."—Coverdale's Bible, 1535.]

[5] miseriæ, Lat. without any epithet.]

tily disposed, maliciously bent, disobedient and unthankful to father and mother; and lastly, care and continual grief in sundry sorts for sundry things, which never cease to vex our minds. For no man can in never so long a bead-row[1] reckon up all the evils whereunto miserable mankind is woefully endangered, and every moment tormented. New miseries rise up every day, of which our elders did never hear; and they are appointed to be felt and suffered of us, who with our new and never heard of sins do daily deserve new and never seen punishments, when as otherwise the miseries, which our forefathers felt, had been enough and sufficient to have plagued us all.

The good and evil are afflicted with calamities.

But now with these evils, as well the good and godly worshippers of God, as the wicked contemners of his name, are troubled and put in ure: yea, the saints are through all[2] their life time afflicted and vexed, when as contrarily the wicked abound with all kinds of joy and delightful pleasures: whereupon it cometh, that great temptations and complaints arise in the minds of the godly. The wicked do gather by their happy state and pleasant life, that God doth like their religion, and accept their manner of dealing, whereby they are confirmed and grounded in their errors. And on the other side the godly, by reason of the miseries which they have long suffered, do revolt from godliness, and turn to the ungodly, because they think that the state of the wicked is far better than theirs. Now it is good to know, and severally to learn, all this out of the scriptures. That the godly are and have been afflicted, as well as the wicked, since the beginning of the world, it is manifest to be seen in the example of Abel and Cain: for, as the one was pitifully slain of the other for his sincere worshipping of God, so was the other for the murder made a vagabond, not daring for fear to abide in any place to take his rest in. Jacob, surnamed Israel, is read to have been vexed with many calamities. The same is reported also of the Egyptians, while they persecuted the Israelites. Saul was vexed, and David afflicted. The Lord our Saviour, with his disciples, bare the cross of grief and trouble: again, on the other side, the Jews, who cruelly persecuted Christ and his disciples, were horribly destroyed,

[1] catalogo, Lat.]
[2] omnem prope, Lat.; almost all.]

and that worthily too, for their villainous injury. Unspeakable are the evils which the church of Christ did suffer in those ten most bloody persecutions[3] before the reign of Constantine the great: but Orosius, the notable, diligent, and faithful historiographer, maketh mention, that due and deserved punishments were out of hand laid upon the necks of those persecuting tyrants; of whom I will speak somewhat in place convenient[4]. And by the testimonies both of God and man, and also by manifold experience, we see it proved, that as well the godly as ungodly are touched with miseries. Yea truly, the best and holiest men for the most part are troubled and afflicted, when the wicked and worser sort are free from calamities, leading their lives in ease and pleasures. And while the good do suffer persecution and injuries, the wicked rejoice thereat. For the Lord in the gospel saith to his disciples: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, ye shall weep and lament, the world shall be glad; but ye shall be sorrowful."

The godly are afflicted when the wicked live in pleasures.

[John xvi. 20.]

But now, what kind of temptations those be, which arise in the hearts of the godly through their tribulations; and what those men, which are not altogether godless nor the enemies of God, do gather of the felicity wherein the wicked are, the scripture in many places teacheth us, and especially in that wonderful discourse of Job and his friends. The prophet Abacuch complaineth, and saith: "O Lord, how long shall I cry, and thou not hear? how long shall I cry out to thee for the violence that I suffer, and thou not help? why am I compelled to see iniquity, spoiling, and unrighteousness against me? why dost thou regard them that despise thee, and holdest

Habak. i.

[3 The persecutions of the Christians by the Romans have, for many ages, been accounted *ten* in number. But the ancient history of the Church does not support precisely this number.—Some Christians of the fifth century were led into a belief by certain passages of scripture, especially by one in the Apocalypse, that the Christian body was fated to undergo *ten* calamities of the heavier kind; to which opinion they then accommodated history, though against her will, not, however, all in the same way.—Mosheim Eccles. Hist. cent I. Book I. part i. chap. 5. § 4. ed. Soames, and note in loc.]

[4 See p. 109, &c. Orosius frequently notices these punishments in the 7th book of his Histor. adv. paganos; and the title of the 27th chapter of the same book is, "Collatio populi Israelitici et Christiani, Ægyptiaci item et Romani, quomodo illi pro Deo in adflictionibus, hi a Deo in plagis, similia fere passi sunt."]

thy tongue while the wicked treadeth down the man that is more righteous than himself? The wicked doth circumvent the righteous; and therefore wrong judgment proceedeth." In
Mal. iii. Malachi the hypocrites do cry: "It is but vain to serve God: and what profit is it that we have kept his commandments, and that we have walked humbly before the face of the Lord[1]? Now therefore we call the proud and arrogant blessed and happy: for the workers of wickedness live happily and are set up; and they tempt God, go on in their wickedness, and are delivered[2]." The holy prophet Asaph containeth all this most
Psal. lxxiii. fully and significantly in the Psalm, where he saith: "My feet were almost gone, my treadings had well nigh slipped: for I was grieved at the wicked, when I did see the ungodly in such prosperity. For they are in no peril of death[3]; they are, I say, troubled with no diseases, whereby they are drawn, as it were, to death, but are lusty and strong. They come into no misfortune like other men; but are free from the evils wherewith other folk are plagued: and this is the cause that they are so holden with pride, and wrapped in violence as in a garment. Their eyes swell with fatness, and they do even what they lust[4]. They stretch forth their mouth unto heaven, and their tongue goeth through the world: yea, and they dare to say, Tush, how should God perceive it[5]? Lo, these are the ungodly, these prosper in the world, and these have riches in possession. Then, said I, have I cleansed my heart in vain, and washed mine hands in innocency: and I bear punishment every day. And while I thought thus to myself, I had almost departed from the generation of God's children."

The causes of calamities. Now since this is so, it followeth consequently to beat out[6] the causes of these calamities: for in so doing we shall

[1 coram Deo exercituum, Lat.; God of hosts.]

[2 qui Deum tentant, Lat.; "for they tempte God, and yet escape." Coverdale's Bible, 1535.]

[3 neque enim sunt illis nexus ad mortem, Lat.; (eo quod non trahantur ad mortem quasi captivi.—Calvin, Comment. in loc.); for there are no bands in their death.—Auth. Vers.]

[4 dum eis videlicet pro voto omnia succedunt, Lat.; omitted,—while, that is, all things go according to their desire.]

[5 quomodo cognosceret omnia Deus? estne cognitio apud Altissimum? Lat.; How should God know all things? is there knowledge in the most High?]

[6 ut diligentissime excutiamus, Lat.]

be the better able to judge rightly of the miseries both of the godly and wicked sort of people. The causes of calamities are many, and of many sorts: but the general and especial cause is known to be sin. For by disobedience sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and so, consequently, diseases, and all evils in the world. They are very light-headed and vain fellows, that refer these causes to I cannot tell what, blind constellations, and movings of planets. For[7] we by our evil lusts and corrupt affections do heap up day by day one evil on another's neck. And at our elbows standeth the devil, who roundeth[8] us in the ears, and eggeth us forwards; and, as helps to spur us on, there are a crew of naughty packs[9], that never cease to train us in. And daily there do rise up divers instruments of tribulation, wherewith the most wise and just God doth suffer us men to be exercised and tormented.

The cause why the saints are afflicted.

But the same causes of affliction are not always found to be in the holy worshippers of God, as are in the wicked despisers of his name. The saints are often afflicted, that by their trouble the glory of God may be known to the world. For when the disciples of Christ did see the blind man in the gospel, which was blind from his mother's womb, they said to the Lord: "Master, who sinned, this man, or his parents, that he was born blind? Jesus answered, Neither did this man sin, nor his parents; but that the works of God might be made manifest in him." Likewise, when the Lord heard say that Lazarus was sick, "This disease (saith he) is not to death, but to the glory of God, that by it the Son of God may be glorified." And yet, if we touch this matter to the quick, there can none in the world be found without sin; so that, if the Lord will mark our iniquities, he shall always find somewhat to be punished in us: as it is at large declared in the book of Job.

[John ix. 2, 3.]

John xi.

We are delivered by the goodness of the Lord, not by our own means or ability.

Furthermore, the Lord doth suffer his spouse, the church, which he loveth full dearly, to be troubled and afflicted to this end and purpose; that he may openly declare, that the elect are defended, preserved, and delivered by the power and aid of God, and not by the policy or help of man. For Paul

[7 ceterum, Lat.; but.]

[8 to round, Johnson; to roun, Toone: to whisper or speak in secrecy.]

[9 pack, a loose or lewd person.—Johnson's Dict.]

saith: "We have this treasure in earthen vessels, that the excellency of the power may be God's, and not of us: while we are troubled on every side, but not made sorrowful; we are in poverty, but not in extreme poverty; we suffer persecution, but are not forsaken therein; we are cast down, but we perish not; we always bear about in the body the dying of the Lord Jesus, that the life of Jesus might also be made manifest in our body. For we which live are always delivered unto death for Jesus' sake, that the life also of Jesus might be made manifest in our mortal flesh[1]." Also the same apostle saith: "Virtue is made perfect in infirmity[2]."

Afflictions are testimonies of the doctrine of faith. [Matt. x. 17, 18.]

Again, as the afflictions of the holy martyrs and faithful saints of Christ are testimonies of the doctrine of faith, as our Saviour in the gospel saith, "They shall deliver you up to councils, and in their synagogues they shall scourge you; yea, ye shall be brought before kings and rulers for my sake, that this might be for a witness to them and the people:' even so, in like manner, are the saints, overladen with miseries, made examples for us to learn by how to overcome and despise[3] the world, and to aspire to heavenly things.

We are tried by afflictions.

Finally, the Lord doth try those that be his by laying the cross upon their necks, and purgeth them like gold in the fire: he cutteth from us many occasions of evil, that he may bring us to the bearing of greater and more plentiful fruit. The wisdom of the Lord doth therein follow the manner of goldsmiths, who put their gold into the fire to purge, and not to mar it: and he imitateth also good husbandmen, who, when their corn is somewhat too rank, do mow it down; and prune their trees, not to destroy, but to make them bear more abundant fruit. And this flesh of ours, verily, in peace and quietness is luskish[4], lazy, drowsy, and slow to good and honest exercises; it is content, and seeketh no further than earthly things; it is wholly given to pleasures; it doth utterly forget God and godly things: now therefore it is not expedient only, but also very necessary, to have this dull and sluggish lump stirred up and exercised with troubles, afflictions, and sharp persecutions. The saints herein are like

[1 2 Cor. iv. 7—11. Bullinger has adopted the translation of Erasmus.]
[2 2 Cor. xii. 9. This is the Vulgate, and not Erasmus', version.]
[3 calcare, Lat.; to tread under foot.]
[4 luskish, somewhat inclinable to laziness or indolence.—Johnson.]

to iron, which by use is somewhat worn and diminished, but by lying still unoccupied is eaten more with rust and canker. Most truly therefore said St Peter: "Dearly beloved, think it not strange, that ye are tried with fire, which thing is to try you, as though some strange thing happened unto you: but rejoice rather, in that ye are partakers of the afflictions of Christ; that, when his glory is revealed, ye may be merry and glad[5]." 1 Pet. iv. For Paul to Timothy saith: "Remember that Jesus Christ of the seed of David was raised from the dead according to my gospel; for which I am afflicted, as an evil doer, even unto bonds: and yet I suffer all things for the elect's sakes, that they might also obtain the salvation which is in Christ Jesus with eternal glory. It is a faithful saying: For if we be dead with him, we shall also live with him: if we be patient[6], we shall reign with him: if we deny him, he shall also deny us[7]." 2 Tim. ii. For in his epistle to the Romans he saith: "Those which he knew before he did also predestinate, that they should be like-fashioned unto the shape of[8] his Son, that he might be the first-begotten among many brethren. Moreover, whom he did predestinate, them also he called; and whom he called, them also he justified; and whom he justified, them also shall he glorify[9]." Rom. viii. Again, in the same epistle he saith: "We rejoice also in tribulations; knowing that tribulation worketh patience; patience proof; proof hope: and hope maketh not ashamed[10], &c." Rom. v. This do the private examples of the saints, and public examples of the whole church, very plainly declare. Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, had never known that God's helping hand had been so faithful and always present with them; they had never been grounded in so sure hope, nor shewed such especial fruit of their excellent patience; if they had not been exercised with many perils, and, as it were, oppressed with infinite calamities. Whereupon it cometh, that David cried: "It is good for me, Lord, that thou hast troubled me." The church of Israel was oppressed in Egypt; but to the end that it Psal. cxix. [71.]

[5] 1 Pet. iv. 12, 13; Erasmus' translation.]
[6] So Tyndale's and Cranmer's translations.]
[7] Erasmus' translation chiefly.]
[8] So Tyndale's and Cranmer's translations.]
[9] glorificabit, Lat.; the Versions have glorificavit.]
[10] Erasmus' translation.]

might with the more glory be delivered, and pass into the land of promise. The Jewish church was afflicted by them of Babylon and the Assyrians, so that their temple was overthrown, and the saints carried captive with the worst of the people. But the godly sort in their very captivity do feel the wonderful help of God, and by that means are made the better[1] by their afflictions; so that the name of the Lord was known[2] among the Assyrians, the Chaldees, the Medes and Persians, to his great glory and renown, as it is at large declared in the histories of Daniel, Hester, and Esdras[3].

Certain punishments appointed as plagues to certain sins.

Here also is to be noted, that certain punishments are appointed of the Lord as plagues for certain sins; so that most commonly a man is plagued by the very same things wherein he sinned against the Lord. David offended God with murder and adultery; and therefore is he punished with the shame of his own house, with whoredom, incest, and detestable murder of his own children; and lastly, driven out and banished his kingdom. It was pride and arrogance, wherein Nabuchodonosor sinned; and therefore, being distract of his wits and turned into a beastly madness, he led his life for a certain time[4] with beasts of the field. But as Nabuchodonosor was, when God thought good, restored to his kingdom; so David did in time convenient feel the mercy of the Lord in settling him in his seat again. For this saying of the Lord is firmly ratified for ever, not only to David, but to every one that believeth, which is in these words set down in the scriptures: "If his children forsake my law, and keep not my commandments, I will visit their sins with rods, and their iniquities with scourges: yet will I not utterly take my goodness from him; I will not break my covenant, neither will I change the thing that is once gone out of my mouth." Therefore it is to our profit that the Lord afflicteth us; as he himself testifieth in the revelation of Christ[5], uttered[6] by John the apostle and evangelist, saying: "Them which I love I rebuke

[Psal. lxxxix. 30–34.]

Rev. iii.

[1] puriores fiunt, Lat.]

[2] quam latissime, Lat.; to the widest extent.]

[3] Ezra and Nehemiah. See Sixth Art. of Religion; "First Book of Esdras, Second Book of Esdras." So also Vulgate.]

[4] destinato tempore, Lat.]

[5] in theologia sua, Lat. See Vol. I. p. 170. n. 6.]

[6] edita, Lat.; put forth, published.]

and chasten." And Salomon, long before that, did say: "My son, refuse not the chastening of the Lord, neither faint when thou art corrected of him. For whom the Lord loveth, him he chasteneth; and yet delighteth in him, as a father in his son[7]." Prov. iii.

Sin is the cause of the church's persecutions.

Now, touching the persecutions and terrible plagues laid upon the neck of the whole church of God, or several martyrs of the same; as they were, for the most part, breathed out of worldly tyrants against the saints for their open confession and testimonies of their faith, and truth of the gospel, so most commonly the causes of those broils were the sins and offences of the saints, which the justice of God did visit in his holy ones, no doubt to the good and salvation of the faithful. For of that bloody persecution under the emperors Diocletian and Maximinian, which caused many thousands, yea, many millions, of martyrs to come to their endings, we read this following in the history of Eusebius of Cesaria, who learned it, not by hear-say, but was himself an eye-witness of the same: "When as by too much liberty and wantonness the manners of the church were utterly marred, and the discipline thereof corrupted; while among ourselves we envy one another, and diminish one another's estimation; while among ourselves we snatch at and accuse ourselves, moving deadly war among ourselves; while dissimulation sitteth in the face, deceit lurketh in the heart, and falsehood is uttered in words, so that one evil is heaped still on another's neck; the Lord beginneth by little and little, and with the bridle to check the mouth of his tripping church, and, reserving the congregations untouched, he beginneth first to suffer them to feel persecution which served as soldiers in the camps of the Gentiles. But when as by that means the people could not be made to remember themselves, insomuch that they ceased not to persist in their wickedness, and that the very guides of the people and chief of the church, unmindful of God's commandment, were set on fire among themselves with strife, envy, hatred, and pride, so that they might think they rather exercised tyranny than the office of ministers, because they had forgotten christian sincerity and pureness of living; then at length the houses of prayer and churches of the living God

[7 Prov. iii. 11, 12; et tanquam pater in filio delectatur, Lat.; "and yet delyteth in him even as a father in his owne sonne."—Coverdale's translation, 1535.]

were thrown to the ground, and the holy scriptures set on fire in the broad and open streets[1]." Thus much, word for word, out of the eighth book of his ecclesiastical history.

What kind of sins the saints' sins are.

And yet here I make difference betwixt sin and sin. For the saints sin, but yet they abstain commonly from heinous crimes; although now and then too they fall into them, as it is evident by the example of David: but yet, for the most part, they fly from theft, murder, whoredom, and other grievous[2] sins like unto these. And while the saints are afflicted by tyrants, it is not for the neglecting of justice and true religion; but for the contemning of superstition, and stedfast sticking to Christ and his gospel. The Lord therefore doth forgive, and in the blood of Christ wash away, the sins of the holy martyrs, reputing them to suffer death not for the sins which they have committed, but for the zeal and love of true religion. He also punisheth the tyrants for the death of his martyrs; because, in putting them to death, they follow their own tyrannous affection, and not the just judgment of the living God. The Lord's mind, verily, was by tyrants to chasten his people Israel: but the tyrants (as Esay in his tenth chapter witnesseth) did not take it to be so; but rather, following their own affections, they passed all measure in afflicting them, and never sought after justice and equity: they therefore are punished of the Lord for killing his

[1 Bullinger has followed the Latin translation of Eusebius: Ubi ex multa libertate multaque indulgentia vitiati sunt mores, et disciplina corrupta est, dum alter alteri invidemus, et alter alteri derogamus; dumque nos invicem mordemus et incusamus, et adversum nosmetipsos intestina prœlia commovemus; dum simulatio in vultu, dolus in corde, fallacia profertur in verbis, et malorum per singula cumulus intumescit; aggreditur (Dominus) primo sensim refrænare lapsantes, congregationibusque manentibus, indulget interim eos, qui erant in militia tantum gentilium, persecutione pulsari. Sed cum nullus ex hoc clementiæ ejus intellectus populis redderetur, et persisterent in malis suis, atque ipsi qui duces populi videbantur et principes, divini mandati immemores effecti, adversum se invicem contentionibus, zelo, livore, superbia, inimicitiis atque odiis inflammarentur, ita ut tyrannidem potius quam sacerdotium tenere se crederent, christianæ humilitatis et sinceritatis obliti; tunc demum...domus orationis et ecclesiæ Dei vivi ad solum deductæ sunt; divinæ .vero scripturæ in medio platearum igni crematæ sunt.—Euseb. Eccles. Hist. Ruffino Aquil. interprete, lib. VIII. cap. 1. p. 183. Basil. 1539.]

[2 morte expianda, Lat.]

innocent and guiltless servants. For the thing which the Lord did persecute in his people, (their sins, I mean, and offences,) that do the tyrants neither punish nor persecute: but the thing that pleased God, (the love, I mean, of true religion, and the utter detesting of idolatry,) that they are mad upon, and persecute it with sword and fire and unspeakable torments. To this therefore doth that saying of St Peter belong: "See that none of you be punished as a murderer, or as a thief, or as an evil-doer, or as a busy-body in other men's matters: but if any man suffer as a christian man, let him not be ashamed, but rather glorify God on this behalf." [1 Pet. iv. 15, 16.]

Yet, for all this, I would not that heinous offenders should any whit despair. They have the example of the thief that was crucified with Christ; that let them follow: let them, I say, confess their faults, believe in Christ, commit themselves wholly to his grace and mercy, and lastly, suffer patiently the pain of their punishment; and, in so doing, there is no doubt but they shall be received of Christ into Paradise, and live there for ever, as the thief doth with Christ.

Why God doth punish the good with the evil.

And although the godly be slain among transgressors, yet is he no more defiled by suffering with them than Christ our Lord was, being hanged among thieves. For though the godly and ungodly be wrapped and coupled together in one kind of punishment, yet are they severed by their unlike ending; while the wicked, after this bodily death, is carried to hell, there to burn without intermission; and the godly taken immediately into heaven, to live with Christ his Lord, to whom he committed and commended[3] himself. Touching this matter, and the causes of the afflictions of the holy men of God, I will not be aggrieved to recite unto you, dearly beloved, a notable place of St Augustine out of his first book *De civitate Dei*. "Wheresoever (saith he) good men do suffer the same and like punishment that the evil sort do, it is to be marked, that there is not therefore no difference betwixt them, because there is no diversity in the thing that they suffer. For as in one and the same fire gold doth shine, and chaff doth smoke; and under one flail the husk is broken, and the corn purged; and as the scummy froth is not mixed with the oil, although one weight of the same press doth crush both out at once: even

[3 obtulit, Lat.; offered.]

so one and the self-same misery, falling upon the good and the bad, doth try, fine, and melt the good; and on the other side condemn, waste, and consume the evil sort. Whereupon it cometh to pass, that in one and the same affliction the evil do detest and blaspheme the Lord, when contrarily the good do pray unto and praise his name for that he layeth upon them. So much matter maketh it in afflictions to mark not what, but with what mind, every man doth suffer. For stir up dirt and sweet ointments alike, and you shall have the one stink filthily, and the other cast forth a sweet-smelling savour. Therefore in that hurly-burly, and irruption made by the barbarous people, what did the Christians suffer which was not rather to their profit, while they did faithfully consider those troubles? especially because they, humbly considering the sins for which God, being wroth, did fill the world with so many and great calamities, although they be far from committing heinous, grievous, and outrageous offences, do yet nevertheless not repute themselves so clear of all faults, as that they judge not themselves worthy to suffer temporal calamity for the crimes they commit every hour and moment. For over and besides that every man which liveth peradventure laudably enough, doth in some points yield a little to carnal concupiscence, although not to the outrageousness of horrible sins, to the gulf of heinous offences and abominable iniquities, yet notwithstanding he yieldeth to some sins, which either he haunteth very seldomly, or else committeth so much the oftener as they are the lesser; over and besides this therefore I say, what man is there which, when he seeth and knoweth very well the men for whose pride, lascivious lives, covetousness, and damnable iniquity, God (as he hath threatened) doth plague the earth, doth so esteem them as they are to be thought of, and live so with them as he ought to live with such kind of people? For oftentimes many things are wickedly dissembled, while wicked doers are not taught, corrected, chidden, and admonished of their evil behaviours, either because we think the pain too much to tell them their faults; or while we are afraid to have the heavy looks of them with whom we live; or else avoid their displeasure, lest peradventure they should hinder or hurt us in temporal matters, when as either our greediness desireth to have somewhat more, or our infirmity feareth to lose the things which it hath already

in hold and possession: so that, although the life of the wicked displease the good, for which cause they fall not into the same damnation, which is after this life prepared for the evil; yet, since they do therefore bear with, and forbear, their damnable sins, because they fear them in lighter and smaller trifles, they are justly scourged with them in this temporal life, albeit they be not punished with them eternally. While they be punished by God with the wicked, they do justly feel the bitterness of this life, for the love of whose sweetness they would not be bitter in telling the wicked of their offences. This therefore seemeth to me to be no small cause why the good are whipped with the evil, when it pleaseth God to punish the naughty manners of men with the affliction of temporal pains. For they are scourged together, not for because they lead an evil life together, but because they love this temporal life together. I do not say alike, but together; when the better sort ought to despise it, that the evil, being rebuked and corrected, might obtain the eternal life; to the getting whereof if they would not be our fellows and partners, they should be carried and lovingly drawn, even while they be our enemies; because, so long as they live, it is always uncertain whether their minds shall be changed to be better or no. Wherefore they have not the like but a far greater cause to admonish men of their faults, to whom the Lord saith by the mouth of the prophet: 'He verily shall die in his sin, but his blood will I require at the hand of the watchman.' For to this end are the watchmen, that is, the guides of the people, ordained in the churches, that they should not forbear to rebuke sin and wickedness. And yet, for all this, that man is not altogether excusable of this fault, which, although he be no guide or overseer of the people, doth, notwithstanding, know many things worthy controlment, and yet wink at them in those with whom he liveth and is conversant, because he will give them none offence, for fear lest he lose those things, which in this world he useth as he ought not, or is delighted in so as he should not[1]." And so forth. For all this have I hitherto rehearsed out of St Augustine.

[1 Hæc cum ita sint, quicunque boni malique pariter afflicti sunt, non ideo ipsi distincti non sunt, quia distinctum non est quod utrique perpessi sunt.—Nam sicut sub uno igne aurum rutilat, palea fumat, et sub eadem tribula stipulæ comminuuntur, frumenta purgantur; nec

The last and hindermost cause of the calamities which oppress the holy saints of God is, because the Lord, in afflict-

ideo cum oleo amurca confunditur, quia eodem preli pondere exprimitur: ita una eademque vis irruens bonos probat, purificat, eliquat; malos damnat, vastat, exterminat. Unde in eadem afflictione mali Deum detestantur atque blasphemant, boni autem precantur et laudant. Tantum interest, non qualia, sed qualis quisque patiatur. Nam pari motu exagitatum et exhalat horribiliter cœnum, et suaviter fragrat unguentum.... Quid igitur in illa rerum vastitate Christiani passi sunt, quod eis non magis fideliter ista considerantibus ad profectum valeret? Primo, quod ipsa peccata, quibus Deus indignatus implevit tantis calamitatibus mundum, humiliter cogitantes, quamvis longe absint a facinorosis, flagitiosis, atque impiis, tamen non usque adeo se a delictis deputant alienos, ut nec temporalia pro eis mala perpeti se judicent indignos. (Bullinger's text has *dignos*.) Excepto enim quod unusquisque, quamlibet laudabiliter vivens, cedit in quibusdam carnali concupiscentiæ, etsi non ad facinorum immanitatem et gurgitem flagitiorum atque impietatis abominationem, ad aliqua tamen peccata vel rara vel tanto crebriora quanto minora:—hoc ergo excepto, quis tandem facile reperitur, qui eosdem ipsos, propter quorum horrendam superbiam, luxuriam, et avaritiam, atque execrabiles iniquitates et impietates Deus, sicut minando prædixit, conterit terras, sic habeat ut habendi sunt; sic cum eis vivat, ut cum talibus vivendum est? Plerumque enim ab eis docendis, admonendis, aliquando etiam objurgandis et corripiendis male dissimulatur; vel cum laboris piget, vel cum os eorum (coram) verecundamur offendere; vel cum eorum inimicitias devitamus, ne impediant et noceant in istis temporalibus rebus, sive quas adipisci adhuc appetit nostra cupiditas, sive quas amittere formidat infirmitas: ita ut quamvis bonis vita malorum displiceat, et ideo cum eis non incidant in illam damnationem, quæ post hanc vitam talibus præparatur; tamen quia propterea peccatis eorum damnabilibus parcunt, dum eos in suis licet levibus et venialibus metuunt, jure cum eis temporaliter flagellantur, quamvis in æternum minime puniantur. Jure istam vitam, quando divinitus affliguntur cum eis, amaram sentiunt, cujus amando dulcedinem peccantibus eis amari esse noluerunt.... Non mihi itaque videtur hæc parva esse causa, quare cum malis flagellentur et boni, quando Deo placet perditos mores etiam temporalium pœnarum afflictione punire. Flagellantur enim simul, non quia simul agunt malam vitam, sed quia simul amant temporalem vitam: non quidem æqualiter, sed tamen simul; quam boni contemnere deberent, ut illi correpti atque correcti consequerentur æternam: ad quam consequendam, si nollent esse socii, ferrentur et diligerentur inimici; quia donec vivunt, semper incertum est, utrum voluntatem sint in melius mutaturi. Qua in re non utique parem, sed longe graviorem habent causam, quibus per Prophetam dicitur, 'Ille quidem in suo peccato morietur, sanguinem autem ejus de manu speculatoris requiram.' Ad hoc enim speculatores,

ing his friends, doth thereby give a most evident testimony of his just judgment, which shall fall upon his enemies for their contemning of his name and majesty. For St Peter saith: "The time is that judgment[1] must begin at the house of God: if it first begin at us, what shall the end be of those which believe not the gospel of God? And if the righteous scarcely be saved, where shall the ungodly and sinner appear?" And like to this is that notable sentence of the Lord's, which he spake, when he went to the place of execution, saying: "If they do this in a moist tree, what shall be done in the dry?" If the saints, by whom are meant the fruitful[2] trees bringing forth most precious fruits of good works, are, by the sufferance of God, in this world so miserably tormented and wrongfully vexed; what shall we say, I pray you, of the wicked, which are so far from virtue and good works? They shall, undoubtedly, be plagued with unspeakable pains and punishments.

The affliction of the godly is an argument of God's just judgment against the wicked. [1 Pet. iv. 17, 18.]

Luke xxiii.

For touching the causes of those calamities wherewith the wicked are tormented; they can be none other than the heinous crimes which they commit from day to day; and are therefore punished by God's just judgment, to the end that all men may perceive, that God hateth wicked men and wickedness alike. So we read that Pharao was afflicted. Saul fell upon his own sword, and was slain in the mount Gilboe, with many thousand Israelites, because he had sinned against the Lord, which purposed to destroy him for an example of his judgment, and a terror to them that should follow after. Antiochus Epiphanes, Herod the Great, Herod Agrippa, and Galerius Maximianus, the emperor, were taken horribly with grievous diseases, and died of the same[3]. The

The causes of afflictions in the wicked sort.

hoc est, populorum præpositi, constituti sunt in ecclesiis, ut non parcant objurgando peccata. Nec ideo tamen ab hujuscemodi culpa penitus alienus est, qui, licet præpositus non sit, in eis tamen, quibus vitæ hujus necessitate conjungitur, multa monenda vel arguenda novit, et negligit, devitans eorum offensiones propter illa quibus in hac vita non indebitis utitur, sed plusquam debuit delectatur.—August. Opp. de Civit. Dei. Lib. I. capp. 8, 9. Tom. V. p. 4, col. 4. p. 5, col. 1, 2, 3. Par. 1531.]

[1 Afflictio inquam et tribulatio, Lat.; omitted by the translator; I mean, affliction and tribulation.]

[2 Si sanctæ arbores frugiferæ, Lat.; if the holy fruitful trees.]

[3 See Vol. I. p. 318. For the miserable end of Maximian see

reason was, because they sinned against God and his servants; on whom he determined to take a vengeance, and to make them proofs of his just judgment; so to be examples for tyrants to perceive what plagues remain for those which seek the blood of the godly and faithful. And although our good God doth ordain all things for the best to his creatures, and sendeth in a manner all calamities and miseries to draw us from wickedness; yet because hypocrites and wicked people despise the counsels and admonitions of God, and neither will acknowledge God when he striketh, nor turn to him when he calleth them, all things do turn to their destruction (even as to them which love the Lord all things work to the best), and therefore do they perish in their calamities: for in this world they feel[1] the wrath of the almighty God in most horrible punishments; and in the world to come, when once they are parted out of this life, do for ever[2] bear far greater[3] and bitterer pains than any tongue can tell.

The infelicity of the ungodly.

But if it happen that the wicked and ungodly sort do not in this life feel any plague or grievous affliction, then shall they be punished so much the sorer in the world to come. There is no man that knoweth not the evangelical parable of the rich unmerciful glutton, who, when as in this life he lived as he lusted, in passing delights, was notwithstanding in hell tormented with unquenchable thirst, and parched with fire[4] which never ceased burning. The felicity therefore of the wicked in this life is nothing else but extreme misery. For St James the Apostle saith: "Ye have lived in pleasure upon earth, and been wanton; ye have nourished your hearts, as in a day of slaughter[5];" which, I say, will turn to you, as to well-fed beasts, that are fatted up to be slain to make meat of[6]. For Jeremy goeth a little

James v.

Jer. xii.

Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Lib. VIII. cap. 16, and Lactantius de Mor. Persecut. cap. 33, and Gibbon, chap. XIV. p. 213. Vol. II. ed. Lond. 1820.]

[1 persentiscere incipiunt, Lat.; they begin to feel.]

[2 So 1577, but in 1587, *therefore bear.* æternum perferunt, Lat.]

[3 eadem, imo longe majora, Lat.; the same, nay far greater.]

[4 ignibus infernalibus, Lat.; fire of hell.]

[5 James v. 5. Bullinger has adopted Erasmus' renderings.]

[6 In his Commentary Bullinger prefers the other explanation of this comparison: in deliciis lascive pascitis cuticulam vestram, quotidiana agitantes convivia, non minus splendida quam alii solent festo die mactata victima.]

more plainly to work, and saith: "O Lord, thou art more righteous than that I should dispute with thee: yet notwithstanding I will talk with thee. How happeneth it that the way of the ungodly doth prosper so well, and that it goeth so well with them which without shame offend in wickedness? Thou hast planted them, they take root, they grow, and bring forth fruit." And immediately after: "But draw thou them out, O Lord, like a sheep[7] to be slain, and ordain or appoint them[8] against the day of slaughter." With this also doth that agree, which the prophet Asaph, after he had roundly and largely reckoned up the felicity of the wicked, addeth, saying: "Thou, verily, hast set them in slippery places; thou shalt cast them down headlong, and utterly destroy them[9]. O with how sudden calamities are they oppressed; they are perished and swallowed up of terrors! Even as a dream that vanisheth so soon as one awaketh; thou, Lord, shalt make their image contemptible in the city." For David also before him did cry, saying: "Yet a little, and the ungodly shall be nowhere; and when thou lookest in his place, he shall not[10] appear. I have seen the ungodly in great power, and flourishing[11] like a green bay-tree: and I went by, and, lo, he was gone; I sought him, but he could not be found." In like manner also doth Malachi the prophet witness, that there is great difference, in the day of judgment, betwixt the worshipper and despiser of God, and betwixt the just and unjust dealer: "For the day of the Lord shall come, in which the proud, and those that work wickedness, shall be burnt as stubble with fire from heaven, so that there shall remain unto them neither root nor branch." They that are wise, therefore, will never hereafter be offended at the felicity of the wicked: they will never desire and long to be made partakers of their unhappy prosperity: they will not grudge at all to bear the misery of the cross, which they do daily hear to be laid by God[12]

Psal. lxxiii. [18–20.]

Psal. xxxvii.

[Mal. iii. 18, and iv. 1.]

[7 sicut pecudem e grege, Lat.]

[8 consecra sive destina, Lat.; sanctify or set apart; הַקְדִּישֵׁם, Heb. sanctifica, Vulg.]

[9 ut prorsus dissiliant, Lat.; that they may burst altogether.]

[10 nuspiam, Lat.; nowhere.]

[11 et virentem ac sese diffundentem, Lat.]

[12 a clementissimo Deo, Lat]

upon his saints, to the end they may be tried and fined from the dross of the flesh and this unclean world. Thus far have I sufficiently reasoned of the causes of calamities.

How the godly behave themselves in their calamities.

Let us now see, my reverend brethren[1], how, and in what order, the godly and sincere worshipper of God doth behave himself in all calamities and worldly afflictions. His courage quaileth not, but kicketh rather all desperation aside[2], because he understandeth, that he must manfully in faith bear all sorts of evils. Therefore doth he arm himself with hope, patience, and prayer. There are, verily, among men some which, so soon as they feel any affliction, do presently cry, as the common voice is, That it had been best if they never had been born, or else destroyed as soon as they were born. A very wicked saying is this, and not worthy to be heard in a christian man's mouth. But far more wicked are they which stick not to destroy themselves[3], rather than by living they would be compelled to suffer any longer some small calamity, or abide the taunts of the open world. And yet on the other side again men must reject the unsavoury opinion of the Stoics, touching their *indolentia*, or lack of grief: touching which I will recite unto you, dearly beloved, a most excellent discourse of a notable doctor in the church of Christ, set down in these words following:

The Stoics were of opinion, that a valiant man ought not to be grieved for any misery or calamity.

Against the Stoics' *indolentia*.

"We are too unthankful towards our God, unless we do willingly and cheerfully suffer calamities at his hand. And yet such cheerfulness is not required of us, as should take away all sense and feeling of grief and bitterness: otherwise there should be no patience in the saints' suffering of the cross of Christ, unless they were both pinched by the heart with grief, and vexed in body with outward troubles. If in poverty there were no sharpness, if in diseases no pain, if in infamy no sting, and in death no horror, what fortitude or temperancy were it to make small account of and set little by them? But since every one of them doth naturally nip the minds of us all with a certain bitterness engraffed in them, the valiant stomach of a faithful man doth therein shew itself, if he, being pricked with the feeling of this bitterness, howsoever he is grievously pained therewith, doth notwithstanding

[1 honorandi fratres, Lat.]
[2 calcat, Lat.]
[3 sibi ipsis violentam et armatam manum inferunt, Lat.]

by valiant resisting and continual struggling worthily vanquish and quite overcome it. Therein doth patience make proof of itself, if, when a man is sharply pricked, it doth notwithstanding so bridle itself with the fear of God, that it never breaketh forth to immoderate unruliness. Therein doth cheerfulness clearly appear, if a man, once wounded with sorrow and sadness, doth quietly stay himself upon the spiritual consolation of his God and creator. This conflict, which the faithful sustain against the natural feeling of sorrow and grief, while they study to exercise patience and temperance, the apostle Paul hath finely described in words as followeth: 'We are troubled on every side, but not made sorrowful: we are in poverty, but not in extreme poverty: we suffer persecution, but are not forsaken therein: we are cast down, but we perish not.' Thou seest here, that to bear the cross patiently is not to be altogether senseless and utterly bereft of all kind of feeling: as the Stoics of old did foolishly describe the valiant man to be such an one, as, laying aside the nature of man, should be affected alike in adversity and prosperity, in sorrowful matters and joyful things; yea, and such an one as should be moved with nothing whatsoever[4]. And what did they, I pray you, with this exceeding great patience[5]? Forsooth, they painted the image of patience, which neither ever was, nor possibly can be, found among men. Yea, while they went about to have patience over exquisite and too precise, they took away the force thereof out of the life of man. At this day also there are among us Christians certain new upstart Stoics, which think it a fault not only to sigh and weep, but also to be sad and sorrowful for any matter. And these paradoxes, verily, do for the most part proceed from idle fellows, which, exercising themselves rather in contemplation[6] than in working, can do nothing else but daily breed such novelties and paradoxes. But we Christians have nothing to do with this iron-like philosophy, since our Lord and master hath not in words only, but with his own example also, utterly condemned it. For he groaned at and wept over both his own and other men's calamities, and taught his disciples to do the like.

[2 Cor. iv. 8, 9.]

Ferrea philosophia.

[4 instar lapidis, Lat.; like a stone.]

[5 Calvin's word is *sapientia;* but Bullinger reads *patientia.*]

[6 speculando, Lat.]

[John xvi. 20.] 'The world (saith he) shall rejoice, but ye shall be sorrowful, ye shall weep.' And lest any man should make that weeping to be their fault, he pronounceth openly, that they are [Matt. v. 4.] happy which do mourn. And no marvel: for if all tears be misliked of, what should we judge of the Lord himself, out of whose body bloody tears did trill[1]? If all fear be noted to proceed of unbelief, what shall we think of that horror, wherewith we read that the Lord himself was stricken[2]? If we mislike all sorrow and sadness, how shall we like of that where the Lord confesseth that his soul is heavy unto the death?

"Thus much did I mind to say, to the intent that I might revoke godly minds from desperation; lest peradventure they do therefore out of hand forsake to seek after patience, because they cannot utterly shake off the natural motions of grief and heaviness: which can not choose but happen to them which of patience do make a kind of senselessness, and of a valiant and constant man a senseless block, or a stone without passions[3]. For the scripture doth praise the saints for their patience, while they are so afflicted with the sharpness of calamities as that thereby their stomachs are not broken, nor their courage is utterly quailed; while they are so stung with the prick of bitterness as that they are filled with spiritual joy; while they are so oppressed with heaviness of mind as that yet they be cheerful[4] in God's consolation. And yet is that repugnancy still in their hearts, because the natural sense doth fly from and abhor the thing that it feeleth contrary to itself; when as, on the other side, the motions of godliness doth even through these difficulties, by striving, seek a way to the obedience of God. This repugnancy did the Lord ex- John xxi. press when he said to Peter: 'When thou wast younger, thou girdedst thyself, and wentest whither thou wouldest: but when thou shalt be old, another shall gird thee, and lead thee whither thou wouldest not.' It is not unlike verily[5], that Peter, when it was need to glorify God by his death, was

[1 trill: trickle, fall in drops. Johnson.]
[2 non leviter consternatum, Lat.]
[3 or a stone, &c. not in Lat.]
[4 exhilarati respirent, Lat.]
[5 This translation is wrong. The Latin is, Non est sane verisimile; *It is not indeed likely.*]

with much ado against his will drawn unto it: for if it had been so, his martyrdom had deserved little praise or none. But howsoever he did with great cheerfulness of heart obey the ordinance of God; yet because he had not laid aside the affections of his flesh[6], his mind was drawn two sundry ways. For while he saw before his eyes the bloody death which he had to suffer, he was undoubtedly struck through with the fear thereof, and would with all his heart have escaped it: and on the other side, when he remembered that he was by God's commandment called thereunto, overcoming and treading down all fear, he did willingly and cheerfully yield himself unto it. If therefore we mean to be Christ his disciples, our chief and especial study must be, to have our minds endued with so great obedience and love[7] of God as is able to tame and bring under all the ill[8] motions of our minds to the ordinance of his holy will. And so it will come to pass, that, with what kind of cross soever we be vexed, we may, even in the greatest troubles of our minds, constantly retain quiet sufferance and patience. For adversity will have a sharpness to nip us withal; likewise, being afflicted with sickness and diseases, we shall groan and be disquieted and wish for health: being oppressed with poverty, we shall be pricked with the sting of care and heaviness: in like manner, we shall be stricken with the grief of infamy, contempt, and injury done unto us; also at the death of our friends nature will move us to shed tears for their sakes. But this must still be the end of our thoughts, Why, the Lord would have it so[9]; let us therefore follow his will." Thus much hath he[10].

Of the saints' patience.

Wherefore the faithful, being once over-taken and entangled with calamities, do chiefly remedy their miseries with patience: which (as Lactantius saith) "is the quiet bearing, with an indifferent mind, of those evils which are either laid or do fall on our pates[11]." For the faithful man by patience, having his eyes throughly fastened upon the word of God, doth in faith

[6 humanitatem non exuerat, Lat.]

[7 observantia, Lat.] [8 contrarias, Lat.]

[9 Atqui Dominus ita voluit; Well, but so is the will of the Lord!]

[10 Calvini Instit. Lib. III. cap. 8. § 8, 9, 10. ed. Amstel. Tom. IX. p. 185.]

[11 Patientia est malorum, quæ aut inferuntur, aut accidunt, cum æquanimitate perlatio.—Lactant. Divin. Instit. Lib. v. cap. 22, p. 530. Lugd. Bat. 1660.]

and hope stick fast to God and cleave to his word; he suffereth all adversities whatsoever bechance him, moderating always the grief of his mind and pains of his body with wonderful[1] wisdom, so that at no time, being overcome with the greatness of grief or sorrow, he doth revolt from God and his word, to do the things that the Lord hath forbidden. By patience therefore he vanquisheth himself and his affections, he overcometh all calamities, and standeth still stedfast with a quiet mind and well-disposed heart to God-ward. And although the faithful do with patience suffer all things, yet doth he find fault with the things that are wicked, and hardly bear with aught that is against the truth. For our Saviour, Christ Jesus, the only perfect example of patience, did most patiently yield his hands and his whole body to be bound of the wicked; and yet nevertheless he reproveth their iniquity, saying: "Ye are come forth as to a thief with swords and staves, although I was daily with you in the temple: but this is your hour and power of darkness[2]."

The image of patience.

To this now belongeth that excellent description, or lively image[3], of patience laid down by Tertullian in words as followeth: "Go to now, let us see the image and habit of patience. Her countenance is calm and quiet; her forehead smooth, without furrowed wrinkles, which are the signs of sorrow or anger; her brows are never knit, but slack in cheerful wise, with her eyes cast comely down to the ground, not for the sorrow of any calamities, but only for humility's sake. Upon her mouth she beareth the mark of honour, which silence bringeth to them that use it. Her colour is like to theirs that are nigh no danger, and are guiltless of evil. Her head is often shaken at of the devil[4], and therewithal she hath a threatening laughter. Moreover, the clothes about her breasts are white, and close to her body, as that which waggeth not with every wind, nor tosseth up with every blast. For she sitteth in the throne of that most meek and quiet spirit, which is not troubled with any tempest, nor overcast with any clouds;

[1 cœlesti, Lat.]

[2 Luke xxii. 52, 53. Bullinger has adopted Erasmus' translation. The Vulgate reads the former sentence interrogatively, as our English authorised version.]

[3 prosopopœia, Lat.]

[4 Her head is often shaked at the devil, ed. 1577.]

but is plain, open, and of a goodly clearness, as Helias saw it the third time. For where God is, there also is Patience, his darling, which he nourisheth[5]." [1 Kings xix. 12.]

Moreover, the blessed martyr Cyprian, in his sermon *De bono patientiæ*, reckoneth up the force or works of patience, and saith: "Patience is that which commendeth us to God, and preserveth us. Patience is that which mitigateth anger, which bridleth the tongue, governeth the mind, keepeth peace, ruleth discipline, breaketh the assaults of lust, keepeth under the force of pride, quencheth the fire of hatred, restraineth the power of the rich, relieveth the need of the poor, maintaineth in maidens unspotted virginity, in widows chastity, in married people unseparable charity; which maketh humble in prosperity, constant in adversity, meek in taking injury; which teacheth thee to forgive quickly those that offend thee, and never cease to crave pardon when thou offendest others; which vanquisheth temptations, which suffereth persecutions, and finisheth with martyrdom[6]. This is that which groundeth surely the foundations of our faith: this is that which doth augment the increase of our hope: this is that which guideth us, so that we may keep the way to Christ, while we do go by the suffering thereof: this is that which maketh us continue the sons of God, while we do imitate the patience of our Father[7]." Thus much Cyprian. The force and effects of patience.

[5 Age jam, si et effigiem habitumque ejus (patientiæ) comprehendamus: vultus illi tranquillus et placidus, frons pura, nulla mœroris aut iræ rugositate contracta: remissa æque in lætum modum supercilia, oculis humilitate, non infelicitate, dejectis. Os taciturnitatis honore signatum. Color, qualis securis et innoxiis. Motus frequens capitis in diabolum, et minax risus. Ceterum amictus circum pectora candidus et corpori impressus; ut qui nec inflatur nec inquinatur (Bullinger's text is the *various reading*, inquietatur). Sedet enim in throno spiritus ejus mitissimi et mansuetissimi, qui non turbine glomeratur, non nubilo livet, sed est teneræ serenitatis, apertus, et simplex, quem tertio vidit Helias. Nam ubi Deus, ibidem et alumna ejus, patientia scilicet.—Tertull. de Patientia. ed. Semler. Tom. IV. p. 87. Hal. Mag. 1824.]

[6 Bullinger has, persecutiones et martyria.]

[7 Patientia est, quæ nos Deo commendat, et servat. Ipsa est quæ iram temperat; quæ linguam frænat; quæ mentem gubernat, pacem custodit, disciplinam regit, libidinis impetum frangit, tumoris violentiam comprimit, incendium simultatis extinguit; coercet potentiam divitum, inopiam pauperum refovet; tuetur in virginibus beatam inte-

To this, if it please you, you may add, for a conclusion, that short but very evident sentence of the Lord in the gospel, "Through your patience possess your souls;" and these words of the apostle, "Cast not away your confidence, which hath great recompence of reward. For ye have need of patience, that after ye have done the will of God ye might receive the promises. For yet a very little while, and he that shall come will come, and will not tarry. And the just shall live by faith: and if he withdraw himself, my soul shall have no pleasure in him. We are not of them which withdraw ourselves unto perdition: but we pertain to faith unto the winning of the soul[1]."

Luke xxi.

Heb. x.

But since patience is not born in and together with us, but is bestowed of God from above, we must beseech our heavenly Father that he will vouchsafe to bestow it upon us, according to the doctrine of James the apostle, who saith[2]: "If any of you lack wisdom, let him ask of God, which giveth to all men indifferently, and casteth no man in the teeth: and it shall be given him. But let him ask in faith, nothing wavering."

James i.

The hope of the faithful.

Now the sound hope of the faithful upholdeth christian patience. Hope, as it is now-a-days used, is an opinion of things to come, referred commonly as well to good as evil things: but in very deed hope is an assured expectation or looking for of those things which are truly and expressly promised of God, and believed of us by faith. So then there is a certain relation of hope to faith, and a mutual knot betwixt them both. Faith believeth that God said nothing but truth,

gritatem, in viduis laboriosam castitatem, in conjunctis et maritatis individuam caritatem: facit humiles in prosperis, in adversis fortes, contra injurias et contumelias mites; docet delinquentibus cito ignoscere; si ipse delinquas, diu et multum rogare; tentationes expugnat, persecutiones tolerat, passiones et martyria consummat. Ipsa est quæ fidei nostræ fundamenta firmiter munit (Bullinger's text has, ponit). Ipsa est quæ incrementa spei sublimiter provehit. Ipsa actum dirigit, ut tenere possimus viam Christi, dum per ejus tolerantiam gradimur. Ipsa efficit ut perseveremus filii Dei, dum patientiam Patris imitamur. —Cypr. Opp. p. 219. Oxon. 1682.]

[1 Heb. x. 35—39. Erasmus' version. So also Tyndale's and Cranmer's translations.]

[2 Patientia perficit, Lat.; omitted by the translator: Patience makes perfect; opus perfectum habet. Vulg.]

and lifteth up our eyes to God; and hope looketh for those things which faith hath believed. But how shouldest thou look for aught, unless thou knowest that the thing that thou lookest for is promised of God, and that thou shalt have it in time convenient? Faith believeth that our sins are forgiven us, and that eternal life is through Christ our Redeemer prepared for us: now hope looketh, and patiently waiteth, to receive in due time the things that God hath promised us, howsoever in the mean time it be tossed with adversities. For hope doth not languish nor vanish away, although it seeth not that which it hopeth: yea, it quaileth not, although that things fall out clean cross and contrary, as if the things, which it doth hope, were nothing so. And therefore Paul said: "We are saved by hope: but hope, that is seen, is no hope. For how can a man hope for that which he seeth? But and if we hope for that we see not, then do we with patience abide for it." Abraham hoped that he should receive the promised land, when as yet he possessed not one foot of ground in it, but saw it inhabited of most puissant nations. Moses hoped that he should deliver the people of Israel out of Egypt, and place them in the land of promise, when as yet he saw not the manner and means how he should do it. David hoped that he should reign over Israel, and yet he felt the peril of Saul and his servants hanging over his head[3], so that oftener than once he was in danger of his life. The apostles and holy martyrs of Christ did hope that they should have eternal life, and that God would never forsake them; and yet nevertheless they felt the hatred of all sorts of people, they were banished their countries, and lastly were slain by sundry torments. So (I say) hope is the hope and looking for of things not present, and things not seen; yea, it is a sure and most assured looking for of things to come[4]: and that, not of things whatsoever, but of those which we believe in faith[5], and[6] of those which are promised to us by the very true, living, and eternal God. For St Peter saith: "Hope perfectly in the grace which is brought unto you[7]." Now they hope

Hope is of things absent. [Rom. viii. 24, 25.]

Hope is of things absent and not seen.

Hope is of things that are most certain.

[3 Saulinos potentissimos, Lat.; the partisans of Saul, who were most powerful.]

[4 Et expectatio quidem, sed expectatio certa, imo longe certissima, Lat.]

[5 vera fide, Lat.] [6 adeoque, Lat.; and so.]

[7 1 Pet. i. 13, our Translation, hope "*to the end:*" in the margin,

perfectly, which do without doubting commit themselves wholly to the grace of God, and do assuredly look for to inherit life everlasting.

Furthermore, the apostle Paul calleth hope, as it were, [Heb. vi. 19.] the safe and sure anchor of the soul. And by how much the promise of God is the surer, by so much is hope the more firm and secure. For hope is not the looking for of anything whatsoever, but of faith; that is, of the thing that faith hath believed, and which we know to be promised to us in the word of God. And therefore doth Paul expound [Heb. xi. 1.] faith by hope, where he saith: "Faith is the ground of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen." Faith therefore is, as it were, the foundation whereupon hope doth rest; and so God himself, and his infallible word, is the object to our [1 Tim. i. 1.] hope. And for that cause Paul calleth God our hope, and so do the prophets also. To this belongeth the ninety-first Psalm, where the faithful crieth: "Thou art my hope, O Lord; thou hast set thine house very high[1]." Like to this thou shalt find an innumerable sort of places in the book of the Psalms. But hope cannot be sure, where there is no sound faith and express promise of God. Now, since God's promises are as well of things temporal as eternal, hope also is as well of things transitory as everlasting.

Hope, the gift of God.

And as faith is the gift of God's grace, and not the power or effect of our own nature; so hope is given us from above, and confirmed in us by the Spirit of God. For in our looking after things, there are both groanings and longings for them. Temptations assail and urge us sorely, as though the thing were utterly denied, which is for a season deferred; or as though God knew not our state and condition, because he seemeth somewhiles, and as it were for ever, to neglect and not set by our earnest expectation: wherefore our hope hath need of much consolation and confirmation of the Spirit of God; which, if it be sound, sustaineth and upholdeth the mind of man[2] overladen howsoever with very weak infirmities. And when the Lord deferreth his promises,

perfectly: the original is τελείως. Tyndale's, Cranmer's, and the Geneva Versions all render it, "trust perfectly on the grace that is brought unto you." Bullinger has adopted Erasmus' translation.]

[1 Psal. xci. 9, Prayer-book Version.]

[2 animum cupidum quidem boni, sed interim tamen, Lat.; the mind of man, eagerly longing after good, howsoever in the mean time, &c.]

and seemeth somewhat too long either to neglect our calamities, or else to lay more troubles on the backs of us that are otherwise sufficiently afflicted; then cometh hope, which, doing her duty, biddeth us pluck up our hearts, and stay the Lord's leisure, who, as he cannot possibly hate them that worship him, so he never faileth nor in the least point deceiveth them; for he himself is the eternal truth and everlasting goodness.

Though the Lord put off the performance of his promises unto us for a season; yet he doth not deceive us, because he is faithful and just.

Here now the places of scripture, touching the certainty of hope, are very profitable to teach that the people that hoped in God were never confounded, although he did delay very long to aid them with his helping hand. The Lord promiseth the land of Canaan to the seed of Abraham; but four hundred and thirty years do first come about, before he settleth them in possession of it; yea, before he brought them to it, he led them whole forty years about in the wilderness[3]. He delivereth the Israelites from the captivity of Babylon; but not till seventy years were spent[4]. What may be thought of this also, that God, having immediately after the beginning promised his only Son, did notwithstanding not send him till and toward the latter end of the world? The saints must therefore still endure, and always wait the Lord's good leisure[5], because truth cannot possibly fail them, and all that hope in it are surely saved. David crieth: "Our fathers hoped in thee; they hoped in thee, and thou didst deliver them. They called upon thee, and were saved: they hoped in thee, and were not confounded." And again: "The Lord is good; happy is the man that hopeth in him." And again: "They that hope in the Lord shall be like mount Sion; they shall not be moved, but shall stand fast for ever." And Paul, in his temptations, crieth out in his Epistle to the Philippians, saying: "I know that my affliction shall turn to my salvation, according to my earnest expectation and my hope, that in nothing I shall be ashamed."

Psal. xxii. [Psal. xxxiv. 8.] Psal. cxxv. [Phil. i. 19, 20.]

Thus much have I said hitherto, to teach you how the faithful do behave themselves in sundry calamities: for they

General consolations.

[3 per desertum vastissimum, Lat.]

[4 Exempla hujus rei in scripturis innumera sunt, Lat.; omitted by the translator. There are in the scriptures examples to this effect without number.]

[5 hoc potissimum nomine, Lat.; on this consideration above all.]

despair not, but confirm their hearts with assured hope, and suffer all evils with a patient mind, quietly waiting for the Lord in their troubles, who is the only hope of all the faithful. Now to the end of this I mean to add a few general consolations, which may the more confirm the hope of the faithful, induce them to patience in suffering calamities, and cheer up their heavy spirits to all manner afflictions.

From whence affliction cometh.

First of all, let the afflicted weigh with himself from whence affliction cometh. Evil men, the devil, sickness, and the world, are they that afflict us; but not without God, who suffereth them to do it. Satan could not trouble Job, neither in goods or body, but by God's sufferance. And the prophet David crieth: "Thou art he that took me out of my mother's womb; thou wast my hope, when I hanged yet upon my mother's breasts. I was left to thee as soon as I was born: thou art my God; my time is in thy hand[1]." And the Lord in the gospel saith: "Are not two sparrows sold for one farthing? and one of them lighteth not upon the ground without your Father: yea, even all the hairs of your head are numbered." Now God, by whose government all things are ruled, is not a God and a Lord only, but also a Father to mortal men. And his will is good and wholesome to us-ward, besides that, whatsoever he doth, he doth it all in order and justly. But if the will of God be good toward us, the thing cannot choose but be good to us, which happeneth by the sufferance and will of him that loveth us so dearly. And herein do the children of the world differ much from the sons of God. For these (I mean the sons of God)[2], in comforting one another in their calamities, do say: Suffer, and grudge not at the thing that thou canst not alter: it is God's will that it shall be so, and no man can resist it: suffer therefore the power of the Lord, unless thou wouldest rather double the evil that thou canst not escape. But the worldlings, on the other side[3], being demanded, Do they suffer the hand of the Lord; and, Whether they submit themselves to

[Matt. x. 29, 30.]

[1 Psal. xxii. 9, 10 (Prayer-book version), and xxxi. 15.]

[2 The translator has made here a great mistake; for Bullinger now proceeds to describe the conduct and language of the children of this world, *not* of the sons of God, under afflictions.]

[3 For all this read, These (children of this world). On the other side, is not in Lat.]

God or no? do make this answer: "I must whether I will or no[4], since I cannot withstand it." If therefore they could withstand it, by this we may gather that they assuredly would[5]. But the children of God do patiently bear the hand of God, not because they cannot withstand it, nor because they must by compulsion suffer it; but for because they believe that God is a just and merciful Father[6]. For therefore they acknowledge and confess, that God of his just judgment doth persecute the sins of them, that have deserved far more grievous and sharp punishment than he layeth upon them: they do acknowledge also that God doth, as a merciful father, chasten them to the amendment of their lives and safeguard of their souls; and therefore do they, for his chastening of them, yield him hearty thanks; and, forsaking utterly themselves and their opinions, do wholly commit themselves, whether they live or die, into the Lord's hands. The Apostle, going about to settle this in the hearts of the faithful, saith: "God speaketh to you as to his sons; My son, despise not thou the chastening of the Lord, neither faint when thou art rebuked of him: for whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth, and scourgeth every son that he receiveth. If you endure chastening, God tendereth you as his sons; for what son is he whom the father chasteneth not? But if ye be without chastisement, whereof all are partakers, then are ye bastards, and not sons. Since therefore, when we had fathers of our flesh, they corrected us, and we reverenced them; shall we not much more rather be in subjection to the Father of spirits, and live?" [Heb. xii. 5—9.]

Secondarily, let the faithful believer, which is oppressed with calamities, consider and weigh the causes for which he is afflicted. For either he is troubled and persecuted of worldlings for the desire that he hath to righteousness and true religion: or else he suffereth due punishment for his sins and offences. Let them which suffer persecution for righteousness' sake rejoice and give God thanks, as the apostles did, for that he thinketh them worthy to suffer for the name of [Acts v. 41.] The causes of our afflictions.

[4 Bullinger here also gives the German phrase,—Ich musz wohl.]

[5 The Latin is more lively: Si ergo possis, audio quid facturus sis. Had you then but the power, your words tell me what you would do.]

[6 justum et patrem benignissimum, Lat.; is just, and a most merciful Father.]

Matt. v. Christ. For the Lord in the gospel said: "Blessed are they that suffer persecution for righteousness' sake; for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are ye, when men shall revile and persecute you, and shall say all manner evil saying against you[1], for my sake: rejoice ye, and be glad; for great is your reward in heaven: for so persecuted they the prophets that were before you." But if any man for his sins doth feel the scourge of God, let him acknowledge that God's just judgment is fallen upon him; let him humble himself under the mighty hand of the Lord; let him confess his sins to God; let him meekly require pardon for them, and patiently suffer the plague which he with his sins hath worthily deserved. Let him follow the examples of Daniel and David. Daniel confesseth his sins unto the Lord, and saith: "We have
Dan. ix. sinned, we have committed iniquity, and have done wickedly; we have not obeyed thy servants the prophets, which spake to us in thy name. O Lord, unto thee doth righteousness belong, and unto us open shame. Thou hast visited and afflicted us,
2 Sam. xv. as thou didst foretell by Moses thy servant." And David, when through Absalom's treason he was compelled to forsake Hierusalem and go in exile, said to the priests which bare the ark after him: "Carry back the ark of God into the city again. If I shall find favour in the eyes of the Lord, he will bring me back again, and will shew me both himself and his tabernacle. But if he thus say, I am not delighted in thee[2]; then, here am I; let him do with me what seemeth good in his eyes." And verily, it is much more better and expedient to be punished in this world, and after this life to live for ever, than to live here without afflictions, and in another
1 Cor. xi. world to suffer everlasting pains. Paul, verily, doth plainly say: "When we are judged, we are chastened of the Lord, that we should not be damned with the world." And the very end of all chastenings and calamities, wherewith the saints are exercised, tendeth to nothing else, but that, by despising and treading down the world, they may amend their lives, return to the Lord, and so be saved. But touching the end of afflictions, we have spoken of it before.

Furthermore the men, that bear the yoke of afflictions,

[1 mentientes, Lat.; speaking falsely.]

[2 neque mihi gratus es, Lat. omitted; neither art thou pleasing to me.]

do lay before themselves the plain and ample promises of God, from which, and from the examples of the saints, they never turn their eyes. There are innumerable examples of them which have felt God's helping hand ready in all needs to aid and deliver them. Now our good God doth promise to help and deliver, not them only which are afflicted for righteousness' sake, but them also whom he doth visit for their faults and offences. For David saith: "The Lord doth heal the contrite of heart[3]: The Lord doth loose them that are bound in chains: The Lord giveth sight unto the blind: The Lord setteth up again them that do fall. He is not angry for ever; neither doth he always chide. He dealeth not with us after our sins, nor rewardeth us after our iniquities. And how wide the east is from the west, so far hath he set our sins from us." To this belongeth the whole thirtieth chapter of Jeremy's prophecy. And Paul doth bear witness to this, and saith: "As the afflictions of Christ are many in us, so is our comfort great through Christ[4]."

The promises made to the afflicted.

[Psal. cxlvii. 3, and cxlvi. 7, 8, and ciii. 9, 10, 12.]

[2 Cor. i. 5.]

Neither are we without examples enough to prove this same by, and to lay before our eyes the present delivery of the saints, and the repentance of sinners in extreme calamities. Our ancestors, the patriarchs, Noe and Lot, with their families, were by the mighty hand of God delivered from the deluge, that drowned all creatures under the heavens, and the horrible fire that fell upon Sodom. Jacob and Joseph, being wrapped in sundry tribulations, were by their merciful God wound out[5] and rid from all: even as also the children of Israel were brought forth and delivered from the servile bondage of Pharao in Egypt[6]. The people of Israel did in the wilderness under their guides and judges[7] sin often and grievously against the Lord, for which they were punished roundly, and sharply scourged; but they were quickly delivered again by the Lord, so oft as they did acknowledge their sins, and turn themselves to him again. There are also notable peculiar[8] examples of God's deliverance of his people in David, Josaphat, Ezechias, Manasses, and many

[3 et obligat contritiones eorum, Lat. omitted; and bindeth up their wounds.]

[4 præsentissimum, Lat.; most ready.] [5 explicantur, Lat.]

[6 plane ferrea, Lat. omitted; which was truly iron.]

[7 sub Judicibus et Regibus, Lat.]

[8 peculiaria sed egregia, Lat.]

Examples of God's deliverance.

other. There are to be seen in the gospel innumerable places, where Christ delivered his professors[1] from sin, from diseases, from perils, and from the devil. In the Acts of the apostles there are found most excellent patterns of present delivery by the mighty hand of God. The apostles are imprisoned, and fast bound in fetters; but they are loosed and brought forth by the angel of God, and placed in the temple to preach the gospel openly. Peter likewise is delivered out of prison, when Agrippa had determined the next day following to make an end of and dispatch him. The apostle Paul, being oppressed with an infinite sort of calamities, did always feel the present hand of God at all times ready to rid him out of misery: and setting this tribulation and delivery of his for an example to all the faithful, he saith to Timothy: "Thou knowest my persecution and afflictions[2], which came to me at Antioch, at Iconium, at Lystra; which persecutions I suffered patiently: but from them all the Lord delivered me. Yea, and all that will live godly in Christ Jesus, shall suffer persecution." Many more examples doth the same apostle reckon up together in the eleventh chapter to the Hebrews. All this, I say, do the saints consider, and in time of temptation and affliction do comfort and strengthen themselves therewith. For so doth Paul teach us, where he saith: "Whatsoever is written, for our learning is it written, that through patience and comfort of the scriptures we might have hope.

[Acts v. 18—20.]

[Acts xii. 6—10.]

[2 Tim. iii. 10—12.]

[Rom. xv. 4.]

The Lord's commandments of bearing the cross.

Beside this also, the faithful sort call to their minds the commandments of Christ our Lord, wherewith he, commending patience unto us, hath laid the cross upon us all. For in the gospel he saith: "If any man will go after me, let him forsake himself, and take up his cross, and follow me. For whosoever will save his life shall lose it; and whosoever shall lose his life for my sake shall save it. For what doth it advantage a man, to win the whole world, and lose his own soul? Or what shall a man give for a ransom of his soul? For the Son of man shall come in the glory of his Father with his angels: and then shall he reward every man according to his work." And again, in another place he saith: "If any man come to me, and hate not his father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and sisters,

[Matt. xvi. 24—27.]

[1 his professors, not in the Latin.]

[2 patientiam afflictionesque, Lat.; my patience and afflictions.]

yea, and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple. And whosoever doth not bear his cross, and come after me, he cannot be my disciple." After which words the Lord bringeth in certain parables, by which he teacheth us to make trial of our ability before we receive the profession of the gospel. To the precepts[3] of their master Christ the faithful apostles, Peter and Paul, had an especial eye, exhorting us to the patient bearing of the cross of Christ. "For Christ," saith Peter, "was afflicted for us, leaving to us an example, that we should follow[4] his steps." And Paul said: "Through many tribulations we must enter into the kingdom of God." [Luke xi. 26, 27.] [1 Pet. ii. 21.] [Acts xiv. 22.]

The time of affliction is short, but the reward very ample and eternal.

Another comfort that the faithful have in their afflictions is this, that the time of affliction is short; that the joy and reward in the world to come is unspeakably far more large and excellent than the tribulation of this life is troublesome, so that there can be no comparison betwixt the joy of the one and grief of the other: and lastly, that our good God doth not lay such burdens on us as we are not able possibly to bear. Touching all which points, I think it convenient here to rehearse proofs out of the scriptures, to prove them true. St Peter calleth the time of affliction short, or momentary[5]. And the prophet Esay, or the Lord rather in Esay's prophecy, long before Peter's time, did say: "Go, my people, enter into thy chambers, and shut the doors after thee; hide thyself a little while[6], until mine indignation be overpast." Paul also saith: "The fathers of your flesh did for a few days chasten you after their own pleasure; but the Father of Spirits doth (for a short time) correct you to your profit, that ye might be partakers of his holiness. But no chastising for the present seemeth to be joyous, but grievous: nevertheless afterward it bringeth the quiet fruit of righteousness to them that are exercised thereby." Again he saith: "We suffer with Christ, that with him we may be glorified. For I am certainly persuaded that the afflictions of this time are not comparable to the glory that shall be shewed upon us. For the momentany lightness of our affliction doth wonderfully, above all measure, bring forth to us an everlasting [Isai. xxvi. 20.] [Heb. xii. 9—11.]

[3 Ad præcepta certa, Lat.] [4 insequeremini, Lat.]

[5 1 Pet. i. 6. ad breve tempus, Erasmus' translation, which Bullinger adopts.] [6 paululum vel ad momentum, Lat.]

weight of glory; while we look not for the things that are seen, but the things that are not seen: for the things that are seen are temporal; but the things that are not seen are eternal[1]." Again, in his first Epistle to the Corinthians the same Apostle saith: "God is faithful, which shall not suffer you to be tempted above that you are able; but shall with the temptation make a way to escape, that ye may be able to bear it." But if it so happen, that the Lord doth seem to us to extend our tribulation longer than justice would seem to require, then must we by and by remember, that we may not prescribe to God any end of his will, but must permit him freely to afflict us[2] without all controlment, so much, so long, and by such means, as shall seem to be best to his godly wisdom. He who is himself the eternal wisdom, and loveth us men entirely well, doth know well enough his time and season, when to make an end of our miseries, and rid us from afflictions. There are in the scriptures sundry examples to comfort the men whose afflictions endure for any long time. The woman in the gospel was troubled with an issue of blood by the space of twelve years, which had almost driven her to utter desperation of her health's recovery. Another lay beddred[3] whole eighteen years. By the pool Bethesda[4] lay the silly[5] creature, who had been diseased eight and thirty years. This space, surely, was very troublesome. But yet at last they[6] were restored to health again by God, who knoweth best at what time and season his help is most expedient and profitable for mankind. Let us therefore wholly submit ourselves to his good, just, and most wise will, to be delivered when and how he shall think best.

[1 Cor. x. 13.]

[Mark v. 25, 26.]

[John v. 2—9.]

No afflictions do separate the godly from their Lord and God.

But the chiefest comfort and greatest hope in tribulation is, that not any force or misery can possibly separate the faithful and elect servants of God from God himself. For the Lord in the gospel crieth out, and saith: "My sheep hear

[John x. 27—30.]

[1 Rom. viii. 17, 18. 2 Cor. iv. 17, 18. Erasmus' translation.]

[2 Suæ manui subditos, Lat. omitted; who are subject to his hand.]

[3 Luke xiii. 11. Decubuit contracta, Lat.]

[4 Ad probaticam piscinam, Lat.; so the Vulgate, est autem Jerosolymis probatica piscina: and the Douay Version; Now there is at Jerusalem a pond, called Probatica. Bethesda is not in Bullinger's original.]

[5 silly, weak, poor, Lat. miser.]

[6 omnibus, Lat.; all these were.]

my voice, and I know them, and they follow me; and I give them eternal life, and they shall never perish, neither shall any man pluck them out of my hand. My Father, which gave them me, is greater than all; and no man is able to take them out of my Father's hand. I and my Father am[7] one." Hereunto belongeth that outcry[8] of St Paul, which he useth to the encouragement of us Christians, where he saith: "Who shall separate us from the love of Christ[9]? Shall tribulation, or anguish, or persecution, or hunger, or nakedness, or peril, or sword? As it is written, For thy sake are we killed all day long, and are counted as sheep for the slaughter. Nevertheless, we overcome in all these things through him that loved us. For I am sure, that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor rule, nor power, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesu our Lord." Rom. viii.

The saints, I confess, in their calamities do feel grief and many discommodities; but so yet that even in their discommodities they have far many more commodities: they are therefore diminished one way, but augmented another way, so that the cross of theirs is not their destruction, but an exercise for them and a wholesome medicine. And therefore I think that that same worthy and golden sentence of St Paul can never be too often beaten into our minds, where he saith: "We are troubled on every side, yet are we not without shift; we are in poverty, but not in extreme poverty; we suffer persecution, but are not forsaken therein; we are cast down, but we perish not." The faithful therefore do in this world lose these their earthly riches; but do they thereby lose their faith? Lose they their upright and holy life? Or lose they their riches[10] of the inner man, which are the true riches in the sight of God? The apostle crieth: "Godliness is a great lucre with a mind content with that that it hath. For we brought nothing into the world, and it is certain that we may carry nought away: but having food and raiment we must therewith be content." And the Lord, Discommodities that the saints suffer are recompensed with other commodities. [2 Cor. iv. 8, 9.] [1 Tim. vi. 6—8.]

[7 sumus, Lat.; are.]

[8 tripudium ac celeusma, Lat.; triumph and encouragement.]

[9 a dilectione Dei, Lat. and Erasmus, from the love of God: but the Vulgate has, a charitate Christi.]

[10 bona, Lat.; good things.]

verily, who of his goodness hath created heaven and earth and all that is therein for the use of men, which even feedeth the ravens' young ones, will not cause the just man to die with hunger and penury. Moreover, that man doth not lose his treasure in this world, which gathereth treasure as the Lord hath commanded him; with whom the faithful know that a most wealthy treasure is laid up in heaven for them, which are in this world spoiled of their terrestrial goods for their Lord and master's sake. That worthy and notable servant [Job i. 21.] of God, Job, doth cry: "Naked I came out of my mother's womb, and naked shall I turn to the earth again[1]: the Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away; as the Lord pleased, so is it happened[2]. Blessed be the name of the Lord."

To deny the truth is not the way to keep our goods.

Last of all, it is manifest, that to deny the truth, thereby to escape persecution, is not the way to keep our wealth and quiet state, but rather the means to lose them; yea, by so doing we are made infamous to all good men of every age and nation. For we see that they which would not for Christ and the cause of his truth hazard their riches, but chose rather by dissimulation and renouncing of the truth to keep their worldly wealth[3], did retain for ever infamous reproach, and daily augment most terrible torments, which vexed horribly their guilty conscience, losing nevertheless in the devil's name the wealth which they would not once hazard in the cause of their Saviour[4]. But they, on the other side, which jeoparded themselves and all their substance in the quarrel of Christ, despising manfully all dangers that could happen, did always find a sweet and pleasant comfort, which strengthened the minds of their afflicted bodies. For they cry with the [Phil. iv. 11—13.] apostle: "We have learned, in whatsoever state we are, therewith to be content. We know how to be low, we know also how to exceed: every where and in all things we are instructed both to be full and to be hungry, both to have plenty and to suffer need. We can do all things through Christ who strengtheneth us." They know that the same

[1 Heb. שָׁמָּה, thither, Auth. Ver. Cyprian quotes it,—naked also shall I go under the earth. Adv. Jud. Lib. III. cap. 6.]

[2 So the Vulgate and Coverdale, The Lord hath done his pleasure: and Cyprian.]

[3 vel retinere vel augere, Lat.; either to keep, or to increase.]

[4 non jam in nomine Christi, sed in nomine diaboli, Lat.]

apostle hath said: "Ye have suffered with joy the spoiling of your goods, knowing that ye have in heaven a far more excellent substance, which will endure." For the Lord in the gospel also said: "Verily I say unto you, There is no man that hath forsaken house, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for my sake, and the gospel's, but he shall receive an hundred fold now at this present, with persecutions; and in the world to come eternal life." Mark x. So then the saints and faithful servants of God are oppressed with servitude in this present world: but therewithal they know and consider that the Lord himself became a servant for us men[5]; whereby[6] they, that are servants in this world, are made free through Christ, and by terrestrial servitude a way is made to celestial liberty. [Heb. x. 34.]

The faithful are exiled, or banished their country: but the heathen poet saith, "A valiant-hearted man takes every country for his own[7]." Verily, in what place of the world soever we are, we are in exile as banished men. Our Father is in heaven, and therefore heaven is our country. Wherefore, when we die, we are delivered from exile, and placed in the heavenly country and true felicity. In like manner, whom the tyrant killeth with hunger and famine, those doth he[8] rid of innumerable evils. And again, whomsoever famine doth not utterly kill but only torment, them doth it teach to live more sparingly, and afterward to fast the longer and devoutly. Now in this case the faithful, which suffer famine, do call to remembrance the examples of the ancient saints, of whom when Paul speaketh, he saith: "They wandered about in sheep skins and goat skins; being destitute, afflicted, and tormented; of whom the world was not worthy: they wandered in wilderness, and in mountains, and in dens, and caves of the earth." Christians also consider, that the state of famished Lazarus, who died among the tongues of the dogs that licked his blains, was far better than the surfeiting of the strut-bellied glutton, who being once dead was buried

Affliction in exile.

Affliction in famine.

[Heb. xi. 37, 38.]

[5 prius, Lat.; before us.]
[6 adeoque, Lat.; and that so.]
[7 Omne solum forti patria est. Ovid. Fast. Lib. I. 493.]
[8 ceu morbus aliquis, Lat. omitted; like some disease.]

Affliction in wars by defiouring of women.

in hell[1]. Moreover, it is to be abhorred, detested, and (yet) lamented of all men, to see a crew of barbarous villains and unruly soldiers abuse perforce, not honest matrons only, but tender virgins also, that are not fit yet nor ripe for a man. But the greatest comfort that we have in so great a mischief and intolerable ignominy is, that chastity is a virtue of the mind. For if it be a treasure of the mind, then is it not lost though the body be abused: even as in like sort the faith of a man is not thought to be overcome, although the whole body be consumed with fire. And chastity is not lost, verily, where the body is defloured; because the will of the abused body persevereth still to use that chastity, and doth what it may to keep it undefiled. For the body is not holy therefore, because the members thereof are undefiled, or because the secret parts thereof are not undecently touched: considering that the body, being wounded by many casualties, may suffer filthy violence; and since physicians for health's sake may do to the members the thing that otherwise is unseemly to the eyes. Wherefore so long as the purpose of the mind (by which the body must be sanctified) remaineth, the violent deed of another's filthy lust taketh not from the body that chastity, which the persevering continency of the defloured body doth seek to preserve. And in the meanwhile there is no doubt but the most just Lord will sharply punish those shameless beasts and monsters of nature, which dare undertake to commit such wickedness.

The saints in suffering the cross do feel no new or unwonted miseries.

The saints are confirmed in their tribulation by the innumerable examples of their fore-fathers; whereby they gather, that it is no new thing that happeneth unto them, since God from the beginning hath with many afflictions and tribulations exercised his servants and the church, his spouse, whom he loveth so dearly. And here I think it to be very expedient, and available to the comforting of afflicted minds, to reckon up the best and choicest examples that are in scriptures: of which there are many both private and public. The chances and pilgrimages of the latter patriarchs (because I mean not to speak of them before the deluge[2]) are those, which I call

[1 sepulti et demersi in inferos, Lat.; who was buried, and plunged into hell.]

[2 veterum, Lat.]

private examples. For our father Abraham is by the mouth of God called from out of Ur of the Chaldeans to go into Palestine, from whence he is driven by a dearth into Egypt, where again he is put to his shifts, and feeleth many pinches. After that, when he came again into Palestine, even till the last hour of his life, he was never without some one mishap or other, to trouble and vex his mind. His son Isaac felt famine also, and had one misfortune[3] upon another's neck to plague him withal. He sinneth not that calleth Jacob[4] the wretchedest man that lived in that age, considering the infinite miseries wherewith he was vexed. While he was yet in his mother's womb and saw no light, he began to strive with his brother Esau: afterwards, in his stripling's age, he had much ado to escape his murdering hands by exiling himself from his father's house into the land of Syria; where again he was kept in ure and exercised sharply in the school of afflictions[5]. At his back-return into his country he was wrapped in and beset with perils enough, and endless evils. The detestable wickedness of his untoward children had been enough to have killed him in his age[6]. In his latter days, for lack of food, he goeth down as a stranger into the land of Egypt, where in true faith and patience he gave up the ghost[7]. Of Moses, the great and faithful servant of God, the scripture testifieth, that in his youth he was brought up in the Egyptian court; but, when he came to age, he refused to be called the son of Pharao's daughter, choosing rather to be afflicted with the people of God, than to enjoy the temporal commodities of this sinful world[8], because he counted the rebuke of Christ greater riches than all the treasures of the Egyptians. The same Moses was grievously afflicted, first by Pharao and his princes, and after that again by them of his own household, and his own country people whom he had brought out of the land of Egypt. David also, the anointed of the Lord, was troubled a great while with his master Saul, that was mad upon him to have

Examples of afflictions in the patriarchs.

[Heb. xi. 24—26.]

[3 domestica infortunia, Lat.; in his family.]

[4 a Domino Israelem cognominatum, Lat. omitted; whom God surnamed Israel.]

[5 in exquisitissima afflictionum palæstra seu officina, Lat.]

[6 optimum senem tantum non enecant, Lat.]

[7 sanctum Deo tradit spiritum, Lat.]

[8 peccati, Lat.; of sin.]

brought him to his end: but having at the last (for all that Saul could do) obtained the kingdom, afflictions ceased not to follow him still; for, after many troublesome broils, he was by Absalom thrust beside his kingdom, and very straitly dealt withal: and yet in the end God of his goodness did set him up again.

Christ and Paul examples unto us.

In the new Testament, Christ himself, our Lord and Saviour, and that elect vessel, his apostle Paul, are excellent examples for us to take comfort by. The Lord in his infancy was compelled to fly the treason and murdering hands of cruel tyrants; in all his lifetime he was not free from calamities; and at his death he was hanged among thieves. And Paul, speaking of himself, doth say: "If any other be the ministers of Christ, I am more; in labours more abundantly, in stripes above measure, in imprisonments more plenteously, in death[1] often. Of the Jews five times received I forty stripes save one; thrice was I beaten with rods, once stoned; thrice I suffered shipwreck; a day and a night have I been in the depth; in journeying often; in perils of waters, in perils of robbers, in perils of mine own nation, in perils among the heathen, in perils in the city, in perils in the wilderness, in perils in the sea, in perils among false brethren; in labour and travail, in watchings often, in hunger and thirst, in fastings often, in cold and nakedness. Beside those things that outwardly come unto me, the trouble, which daily lieth upon me, is the care of all the churches." These, I say, are private examples.

[2 Cor. xi. 23—28.]

Examples of afflictions of the old church.

We have a public example in the church of Israel afflicted in Egypt, many times troubled under their kings and judges, and lastly led captive by the Assyrians and men of Babylon. Afterward, being brought home again by the goodness of God, they pass many brunts, and are sharply afflicted under the monarchies of the Persians, Greeks, and Romans. What shall I say of the apostolic church of Christ, which, even when it first began, like an infant, to creep by the ground[2], did presently feel the cross, and yet flourished still in those afflictions, which even to this day it doth patiently suffer? Histories make mention of ten persecutions, wherewith the church of Christ (from the eighth year of Nero, till the reign of Constantine the great, by the space of three hundred and eighteen

The ten horrible persecutions of the church of Christ.

[1 in mortibus, Lat.]

[2 ab ipsis incunabulis, is Bullinger's phrase.]

years[3]) was terribly shaken and sharply afflicted, without intermission or respite of time for it to breathe in, and rest itself from troublesome broils and merciless slaughters[4].

The first persecution of those ten[5] did Nero, that beast and lecherous monster, raise against the Christians, wherein, it is said, that Peter and Paul, the Apostles of Christ, were brought to their endings. The second was moved by Flavius Domitianus, which banished the Apostle John into the Isle of Patmos. The third persecutor after Nero was Trajan the emperor, who published most terrible edicts against the Christians: under him was the notable martyr and preacher Ignatius, with many other excellent servants of Christ, cast to wild beasts, and cruelly torn in pieces. The fourth persecution did the Emperor Verus most bloodily stir up through all France and Asia; wherein the blessed Polycarpus was burnt in fire alive, and Irenæus, the bishop of Lyons, was headed with the sword[6]. In the fifth persecution of the church of Christ, Septimius Severus through many provinces did bloodily crown many a saint with the garland of martyrdom: among whom is reckoned Leonidas the father of Origenes. Julius Maximinus was the sixth after Nero that played the tyrant against the church. In that persecution the preachers and ministers of the churches were especially murdered: among whom, beside an innumerable sort of other excellent men, Pamphilus and Maximus, two notable lights,

[3 The persecution in Nero's reign began A.D. 64, (he became emperor A.D. 54), and Constantine succeeded Maxentius, A.D. 312; so that the interval is 248 years. See Burton's Hist. of Christ. Church, Chap. v. p. 128, and Chap. XVII. p. 392. Lond. 1845.]

[4 Bullinger's words are: Concessis tamen nonnunquam intervallis quibusdam, satis quidem accisis, quibus respiraret ecclesia: although indeed occasionally some intervals were granted, short enough in good sooth, wherein the church might take breath.]

[5 Primam (persecutionem) quippe computant (nonnulli) a Nerone quæ facta est, secundam a Domitiano, a Trajano tertiam, quartam ab Antonino, a Severo quintam, sextam a Maximino, a Decio septimam, octavam a Valeriano, ab Aureliano nonam, decimam a Diocletiano et Maximiano.—Aug. de Civ. Dei, Lib. XVIII. cap. 52. Par. 1531. Tom. v. fol. 251. See Euseb. Eccl. Hist. III. 18, 36; IV. 15; VI. 1, 41; VII. 11, 30, &c.]

[6 We have no account of the death of Irenæus upon which we can absolutely depend; and there is a doubt whether he was martyred or not.]

were especially slaughtered. The seventh blood-sucker after beastly Nero was Decius the Emperor, who proclaimed most horrible edicts against the faithful. In his time was St Laurence, a deacon of the church, broiled upon a grate-iron; and the renowned Virgin Apollonia, for her profession, did leap into the fire alive. Licinius Valerianus was as cruel as the rest in executing the eighth persecution against the faithful professors of Christ and his gospel. In that broil were slain many millions of Christians, and especially St Cornelius and Cyprian, the most excellent doctors in all the world. Valerius Aurelianus did rather purpose, than put in execution, the ninth persecution: for a thunder rushed before him to the great terror of them that were about him; and, shortly after, he was slain as he journeyed, and so his tyranny by his death was ended. But Caius Aurelius Valerius Diocletianus, Maximinianus Maxentius, and Marcus Julius Licinius, being nothing terrified with this horrible example, did raise the tenth persecution against the church of Christ, which, enduring by the space of ten whole years, brought to destruction an infinite number of Christians in every province and quarter of the world. This broil doth Eusebius Cæsariensis passingly[1] paint to the eyes of the reader: for he himself was an eye-witness and looker-on of many a bloody pageant and triumphant victory of the martyrs, which he rehearseth in the eighth book of his ecclesi-
A. D. 306. astical history. In that slaughter were killed the first apostles of our Tigurine church, both martyrs of Christ and professors of his gospel, S. Fœlix and his sister Regula[2].

After those ten persecutions there followed many more and more terrible butcheries, stirred up by many kings and barbarous men, in sundry quarters of the earth; upon the neck whereof did follow the merciless blood-sheddings committed by the Saracens, Turks, and Tartars[3]: moreover, the

[1 graphice, Lat.]

[2 These martyrs (*ex Thebæa legione*) are thus mentioned in the Ephemeris, Bed. Opp. Tom. I. p. 206. Col. Agrip. 1612. Septemb. 3 Id.]

Has simul et Felix felici morte dicavit,
Martyrio Regulæ juncto, pariterque beavit.

They suffered September 11, A. D. 281. See Hospinian. de festis Christian. p. 143. Genev. 1674.]

[3 Tartarorum, Turcarum denique, Lat.; and lastly of the Turks.]

butcherly bishops[4] of Rome did annoy extremely the church of God, by shedding in civil and foreign wars more christian blood than any tongue can possibly tell. No new thing therefore doth at this day happen to us that in the church of Christ do suffer divers persecutions and afflictions; for we have examples of great efficacy, both new and old, to confirm our hearts, that they faint not in calamities.

Their afflictions were foretold.

And therefore did the prophets and apostles, and their Lord and master, Jesus Christ, foretel these perils, calamities, and all persecutions; because they would have us to fortify our minds against these miseries at all times and seasons, lest, by being shaken with them at unawares, we should revolt from our faith, and forsake our profession. "Because I have chosen you out of the world," saith the Lord to his disciples, "therefore the world doth hate you. Remember the words which I spake unto you, saying, The servant is not greater than his master. If they have persecuted me, they will also persecute you; if they have kept my words, they will also keep yours. But all these things shall they do to you for my name's sake, because they know not him that sent me. This have I said to you, that ye should not be offended. They shall drive you from their synagogues: and the time shall come, that whosoever killeth you shall think he doth God good service." [John xv. 19—21; xvi. 1, 2.]

The rest that is like to this I mean not at this time to recite out of the prophets and apostles, because it cannot be briefly rehearsed[5]: let every one pick out, and apply to his own comfort, the plainest and most evident testimonies, that by reading he shall light upon.

Persecutors are recompensed for their persecuting tyranny.

And although the saints do not rejoice at the destruction of their persecuting enemies, whom they could wish rather to be converted, and so saved, than in this present world to be punished, and in the world to come to be damned for ever; yet they are glad, when they see the Lord punish their afflicters[6], because thereby they perceive that God hath

[4 pseudo-pontifices, Lat.; the false bishops: *butcherly* is not in the original.]

[5 The following texts are put in the margin of the Latin original of Bullinger; Psal. xxii. lxix. Isai. xlix. li. Dan. vii. viii. xi. Zech. xiii.]

[6 hoc potissimum nomine, Lat.; for this reason specially.]

a care over those that be his servants. They do gather also by the present vengeance of God upon the wicked, that as afflictions are for the health and amendment of the faithful, so they are to the hurt and destruction of the unbelievers: for, while they persecute other, they themselves are destroyed; and while they trouble the church of the living God, they kindle a fire of the wrath of God against themselves, that will never be quenched. For in the prophecy of Zacharias thus we read that the Lord speaketh touching his church: "Behold, I make Jerusalem a cup[1] of poison unto all the people that are round about her: yea, Juda himself shall be in the siege against Jerusalem[2]. And in that day I will make Jerusalem a heavy stone for all people; so that all such as lift it up shall be torn and rent, and all the people of the earth shall be gathered together against it." A like saying to this hath the Lord in Jeremy, where he speaketh against the persecutors of his church, and saith: "Take this wine-cup of indignation from my hand, and make all the people, to whom I send thee, to drink of it; that when they have drunken thereof, they may be mad, and out of their wits, for fear of the sword which I will send among them. For I begin to plague the city that is called after my name; and think ye then that ye shall escape unpunished? Ye shall not go unpunished." And this is that whereto St Peter alluding saith: "The time is that the judgment of God beginneth at the house of God: if it first begin with us, what shall the end of them be, that believe not the gospel?"

[Zech. xii. 2, 3.]

[Jer. xxv. 15, 16, 29.]

[1 Pet. iv. 17.]

Vengeance taken of blood.

I have a little above rehearsed in order the ten persecutions, which the Roman emperors stirred up against the church of Christ: now histories make mention, that there was not one of them but was requited with some notable calamity. And, beside the peculiar revengements that followed every several persecution, it is to be noted, that the most just Lord, after the space of three hundred and forty-two years (for so many years are reckoned from the last of Nero unto the second

[1 calix soporis, Lat.; a cup of trembling, Auth. Ver.; slumber, marg. reading.]

[2 So also Coverdale, 1535. Calvin in loc. remarks: Miror cur omittant quidam interpretes particulam עַל, et ita vertant, Erit etiam Jehudah in obsidione contra Jerusalem.]

year of the emperors Honorius and Theodosius[3]), did begin more abundantly to requite the death of his saints upon the necks of the blood-thirsty Rome. For within the space of one hundred and nine and thirty years Rome was six times taken and brought into subjection to the barbarous nations[4]. For in the four hundredth[5] year of grace, which was the second of Honorius and Theodosius his reign, the Wisigothes, under their captain Alaricus, both took and sacked the city, using notwithstanding great mercy in their victory. After that again, the Vandals, under their guide Genserichus, brake into the city cruelly, and spoiled it very greedily[6]. After them came the Herules, and the remnant of Atthilas his army, with their captain Odacer, who took the city, and got the kingdom to themselves, extinguishing utterly the rule of the Romans in the west part of the world[7]. Then again, when about fourteen years were come and gone, in cometh Theodoricus Veronensis with his Ostrogothes, who slew the Herules, and obtained the city[8]. But, it, being recovered by the faith and industry of the valiant captain Belisarius, and restored to Justinian the emperor of the east, was immediately again taken by Totylas[9], a prince of the Goths; who with fire and sword did sack it, pull down houses, and overthrew a great part of the walls thereof, whereby Rome was so defaced, that for the space of certain days there was no man that dwelt within it. That spoil of the city happened about the five hundred and forty-eighth year after Christ his incarnation[10]. And thus did Christ, in revenging his church, lay deserved plagues upon the neck of bloody Rome; beside other miseries (I pass that over)

[3 Nero destroyed himself A.D. 68, and the second year of Honorius and Theodosius was A.D. 410. Usher's Annals, Vol. II. p. 694. Lond. 1654. Gibbon's Dec. and Fall, ch. 32, Vol. V. p. 411. Lond. 1820.]

[4 Bullinger details more fully these invasions of Rome in his treatise on the Revelation. Sermons LVII. & LXXVI.]

[5 412, Lat. and ed. 1577. The date in Gibbon is Aug. 24, 410. Vol. V. p. 310, ch. 31.]

[6 A.D. 455, June 15—29. Gibbon, ch. 36, Vol. VI. p. 151.]

[7 A.D. 476, or 479. Gibbon, Vol. VI. p. 226, &c.]

[8 A.D. 493. Gibbon, ch. 39, Vol. VII. p. 15.]

[9 A.D. 536. Gibbon, ch. 41, Vol. VII. p. 224.]

[10 A.D. 546. Gibbon, chap. 43, Vol. VII. p. 366; and again, after a repulse, finally taken A.D. 549. ibid. p. 375.]

which it did suffer by the Huns and Lombards[1]. For this is enough to shew how miserably Rome was plagued for afflicting the church of Christ; which nevertheless, maugre the tyrants' heads, remained safe, and overcame those brunts, and shall reign with Christ for evermore. In like manner were the Saracens extinguished and utterly destroyed, when first they had suffered many a great overthrow, and had been plagued throughout the world with sundry mishaps and overthwart calamities. The Turks also do daily feel their woes and miseries, and are likely hereafter to feel sharper punishments. Moreover, the popes[2] with poison are one slain by another, and are strangely vexed with wonderful terrors. They are in no place sure of their lives, but even in the midst of all their friends are beset with miseries; they live in fear continually, all the whole pack of them. Furthermore, even they among them, that live most happily, do rot away with the disease that followeth filthy pleasures; than which there is no kind of death either sharper to the patient, or more detested among all men. And their adherents, which by their setting on do persecute the church of Christ, do either drop away with the like disease that waiteth upon filthy lust, or do by little and little consume away, as Herod and Antiochus[3] did; which death is long before it dispatch them, but doth torment them beyond all measure: yea, and besides these bitter plagues, they destroy one another with endless civil wars. The Lord therefore is righteous, and his judgments are just and equal, who never forgetteth to revenge his friends by finding out his own and his servants' enemies, to punish them for their deserts.

They were eaten of worms alive, and stank so horribly, that no man could abide them.

The conclusion.

Since then, my brethren, that the case so standeth, let us, I beseech you, patiently suffer the hand of the Lord our God, as often as we are touched with any calamity, or tempted of the Lord our God; knowing this, that the Lord doth strike us that he may heal us, and trouble us that he may comfort us and receive us to himself into joys everlasting. And that we may so do, since we are otherwise too weak of ourselves, let us pray to our Father which is in heaven, through Jesus Christ our Lord, that he will vouchsafe to be present with us in our

[1 A.D. 568—570. Gibbon, chap. 45, Vol. VIII. p. 126, &c.]
[2 pseudo-pontifices, Lat.] [3 See above, p. 80.]

temptations, and guide us in the way of constancy, peace, and righteousness. And for an example, let every one set before his eyes the order that Christ our Saviour and master did use; who, a little before the cross of his passion, betook himself to prayer. For going up into the mount of Olives, he beseecheth his Father humbly, and prayeth to him ardently. He is instant in prayer[4], and lieth upon him earnestly[5]; and yet so, that he submitteth all to his will and pleasure. Let us also do the like, that we may have trial of our Father's present aid with the effectual comfort of our minds, and that we for his goodness may give him praise for evermore. Amen.

OF THE FIFTH AND SIXTH PRECEPTS OF THE SECOND TABLE, WHICH ARE IN ORDER THE NINTH AND TENTH OF THE TEN COMMANDMENTS, THAT IS, THOU SHALT NOT SPEAK FALSE WITNESS AGAINST THY NEIGHBOUR: AND, THOU SHALT NOT COVET THY NEIGHBOUR'S HOUSE, &c.

THE FOURTH SERMON.

WE are now come to the exposition of the two last precepts of the ten commandments. The ninth commandment is: "Do not speak false witness against thy neighbour." By this precept is confirmed faith in covenants and contracts: it ruleth the tongue, and commendeth unto us verity, the fairest virtue of all other, and teacheth us to use modesty and sincerity both in word and deed. Hitherto yet have we heard nothing in all God's commandments touching the tongue, but a little only in the third commandment. But of the tongue do arise the greatest commodities and discommodities of our life. "For the tongue" (saith James) "is a little member, and boasteth great things. Behold, how great a matter a little fire kindleth. And the tongue is fire, even a world of wickedness. So is the tongue set among our members, that it defileth the whole body, and setteth on fire the course of nature, and it is set on fire of hell. All the nature of beasts, and of birds, and of serpents, and things of the sea, is meeked and

The ninth commandment.

The tongue.

[James iii. 5—10.]

[4 preces suas iterat, Lat.] [5 patrem urget, Lat.]

tamed of the nature of men[1]: but the tongue can no man tame, it is an unruly evil, full of deadly poison. Therewith we bless our God and Father; and therewith curse we men that are made after the similitude of God. Out of one mouth proceed both blessing and cursing." Therefore very well and necessarily is the way set down in this ninth precept, how men should frame and order their tongues.

Now summarily this precept doth command us to use our tongues well, that neither privately or publicly we do our neighbour harm, either in his life, good name, or riches, by word or writing, or otherwise by painting, neither by simulation nor dissimulation, nor yet so much as by a beck or a nod. All things are forbidden that are against truth and sincerity. There is required at all our hands simplicity, plain speaking, and telling of the truth. Briefly, we are commanded every man to do his endeavour mutually to maintain plain dealing and verity. For in the twenty-third of Exodus we read that the Lord did charge us, saying: "Thou shalt not have to do with a false report." And in the nineteenth of Leviticus, "Ye shall not steal, saith the Lord, nor lie, nor deal falsely one with another." And the apostle James, after he had touched the evils of the tongue (especially because out of one mouth proceeded good and bad) doth add: "These things, my brethren, ought not to be so. Doth a fountain at one hole send forth sweet water and bitter also? Can the fig tree, my brethren, bear olive berries? either a vine, figs? So can no fountain give both salt water and fresh also." Verily, since God hath given to man a tongue, that by the means of it one man may know another's meaning, that it may bless or praise God, and do good to all men[2]; it is altogether requisite that it should be applied to the use that it was made for[3], that thereby a man out of a good heart might utter good talk, clear from deceit and hurt, from blasphemy and railings, and from filthy speaking.

Exod. xxiii.

Levit. xix.

[James iii. 10—12.]

Of bearing witness.

But it is best for us by parts more nearly to sift the special points of this precept or argument. First of all, in this commandment it is forbidden every man in the court before a judge to bear false witness. Therefore all witness-

[1 domatur et domita est, Lat.]

[2 etiam sibi ipsi. Lat. omitted: and to one's self also.]

[3 ut imago respondeat archetypo, is Bullinger's Latin.]

bearing simply is not forbidden us, but false witnessing only. "Do not speak (saith he) false witness." It is lawful, therefore, to bear true witness, especially if a magistrate demand it of thee. And therefore the Hebrew phrase is very significant, and saith, "Answer not false witness against thy neighbour[4]." Now he answereth, that is asked a question. And in bearing of witness, he that speaketh must have a regard of God alone and simple truth; he must lay aside all evil affections, hatred, fear, or all part-taking; he must hide nothing, nor dissemble in his speech: he must not devise any thing of his own making, nor corrupt the meaning of his words that spake; as those false witnesses did in the Gospel, when before the judges they said, "I will destroy this temple, and in three days build it again;" for they corrupted the meaning of Christ. And the Lord in the law doth say, "Thou shalt not take up a false report, neither shalt thou put thine hand with the wicked to be an unrighteous witness. Thou shalt not follow a multitude to do evil, neither shalt thou speak in a matter of justice according to the greater number, for to pervert judgment." He therefore, that beareth false witness, committeth sin against God and his neighbour. For first of all, he staineth himself with sacrilege and perjury, and so by telling a lie in the name of God he doth despite to God himself. Moreover, he doth to his neighbour so much hurt, as he taketh damage by the judge's sentence either in body, goods, or loss of life. For it is manifest that the judge, being moved with thy false witness, did punish the accused party in body, goods, or life itself: which he would not have done, had he not been drawn thereunto by thy false witnessing. And therefore a very good and just law is that, which Moses hath uttered in these words: "If a false witness be found among you, then shall ye do unto him as he had thought wickedly to have done to his brother: and thou shalt put evil away from the midst of thee: that the rest may hear and fear, and dare after that do no more such wickedness among you. Thou shalt have no compassion on him; but life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, and foot for foot." To this belongeth the saying of Salomon in the Proverbs, where he crieth, "God hateth a false witness." And

[Matt. xxvi. 61.]

[Exod. xxiii. 1, 2.]

[Deut. xix. 18—21.]

[Prov. vi. 16, 19, & xix. 5, 9.]

[4 לֹא־תַעֲנֶה. Ainsworth translates, Thou shalt not answer.]

[Hist. Sus. 61—2.] again, "A false witness shall not scape unpunished." We have an example in the two false witnesses that rose against the chaste[1] and honest Susanna.

False and wrongful accusations. In this law are condemned also all false and wrongful accusations, and unjust judgments bought for money at the mouth of unrighteous judges. And as those deeds are worthily forbidden, so likewise are they misliked that set their tongue to sale; I mean, such merchants as for a morsel of bread will easily be hired either to bless or curse the innocent. Of which sort of cursing, spiteful, and soothing tongues thou mayest find a great number in every degree and state, both of rich and poor, of spiritual and of lay people.

Furthermore, we have here commended unto us the inviolable keeping of bargains, covenants, and contracts; and, on the other side, are we especially charged not to use either guile, or deceit, or craft, or any kind of cozening. Of which I have spoken where I treated of theft.

A lie, and the kinds of lies. But now the especial thing that is forbidden the faithful herein is to tell a lie, that is, to speak an untruth, either upon purpose therewith to hurt his neighbour, or upon any vain and light occasion, or otherwise upon some evil affection. For among men many kinds and sundry sorts of lies are reckoned up. St Augustine, in his fourteenth chapter *ad Consentium de Mendacio*, maketh mention of eight kinds of lies[2]. I among many will name a few only. There is a jesting lie; as when I say that I lie, or other men know that I do lie, by which lie of mine they take some profit, or (as I should rather say) some pastime or pleasure. To lie in that sort, although it be no great and heinous sin, is yet a sign of very great lightness; which the apostle misliketh in the faithful, as it may appear in the fifth chapter of his epistle to the Ephesians. And yet I think not that devised fables, parables, and feigned narrations are hereby forbidden: which, as they are in the scripture everywhere used in matters of most importance, so have they also a very good grace, being of themselves very necessary, and profitable for the readers. Notwithstanding St Augustine will not have jesting mirth[3] in the number of lies.

Ephes. v.

[1 pudicissimam fœminarum, Lat.]

[2 August. Opp. Par. 1531. Tom. IV. fol. 5. col. 1.]

[3 Exceptis jocis, quæ nunquam sunt putata mendacia.—August. Tom. IV. fol. 2.]

There is, moreover, an officious lie; that is, when I fitten[4] or tell an untruth, for duty's sake, to the end that by my lie I may keep my neighbour harmless from the evil or mischief that hangeth over his head. Of this sort there are many examples in the holy scriptures. The midwives of Egypt did save the Hebrews' children alive, whom Pharao commanded to be slain at their birth; and, being accused before the king for breaking the law, they did by an officious and a very witty lie excuse themselves, and pretend a certain speediness of travail in the Hebrews' wives, more than the Egyptian women had. Rahab doth with a very strange tale deceive the citizens[5] of Jericho, and by her lie preserve the spies of the people of God. And Michol, David's wife, with a lie did save her husband's life, and sent away her father Saul's servants without their purpose, for which the king had sent them. And Jonathan feigneth many a thing at his father's table, for the good-will that he bare to David, whom by honest shifts and godly deceits he did rid from the bloody hand of his cruel father Saul. The holy widow Judith also by lying and dissembling doth enter the tent of captain Holophernes; and by cutting off his head doth set her afflicted country-folks at liberty again.

[Exod. i. 17—19.] [Josh. ii. 4—6.] [1 Sam. xix. 13, 14.] [1 Sam. xx. 28, 29.] [Judith x. &c.]

Now it hath been a question among the divines of the primitive church, whether they, whose examples I have here alleged, did sin in lying or no. Origen, and they that followed him, did permit a wise and godly man to lie, if so be it were for the welfare of them for whom the lie was made[6]. Neither was St Hierome without suspicion of Origen's opinion: for upon the epistle of Paul to the Galatians he writ, that Peter and Paul, to serve the time, did use a kind of simulation[7]. But St Augustine, admonishing Hierome of that

[4 fingo, Lat.—to fitton, to form lies or fictions.—Nares.]

[5 civibus suis, Lat. her citizens.]

[6 Ex quo perspicuum est, quod nisi ita mentiti fuerimus, ut magnum nobis ex hoc aliquod quæratur bonum, judicandi simus quasi inimici ejus, qui ait: Ego sum veritas.—Hæc Origenes scripsit, negare non possumus....docetque magistris mentiendum. Hieron. Apol. adv. Rufin. Lib. I. Tom IV. col. 369. Par. 1706.]

[7 Restitit (Paulus) secundum faciem publicam Petro et ceteris; ut hypocrisis observandæ legis... correptionis hypocrisi emendaretur. —Utilem vero simulationem, et assumendam in tempore, Jehu regis Israel nos doceat exemplum, &c.—Hieron. Comment. in. Ep. ad Gal. cap. II. Opp. Tom. IV. col. 243.]

matter, denieth flatly that we ought once to suspect that a lie is allowed in the sacred scriptures. On the other side again, St Hierome telleth Augustine, that the best interpreters of the ancient church are full and wholly of his mind. There are, to and fro, very learned and large epistles written on both sides, which are extant now, and to be seen amongst us; and therefore I need not stick hereupon any longer[1]. The same Augustine, in the fifteenth chapter of his book that he wrote *ad Consentium contra Mendacium*, saith: "He which saith that some lies are righteous, is to be thought to say nothing else but that some sins are righteous, and so, consequently, that some unrighteousness is righteous: than which what can be spoken more absurd? For whereupon is sin, but because it is contrary to righteousness? But those things that are done against the law of God cannot be righteous. Now it is said to God, Thy law is truth; and therefore that which is against the truth cannot be righteous. But who doubteth but that every lie is against the truth? Therefore no lie can possibly be righteous[2]." And so forth as followeth. Now on the other side, very notable learned men have thought, that Augustine was somewhat too stubbornly set against lying. And therefore some there are, which, going as it were betwixt both, do say, that they (whose examples I alleged even now) were not altogether without all sin; and yet they suppose, that their fault in those lies was a very small sin. I would wish those, which will allow themselves to lie officiously, to take heed to themselves, lest, by following their own affections more than enough, they do at last take that for an officious lie which is indeed a pernicious lie.

[1 Jerome's Epistle on this subject is Ep. 74. Opp. Tom. IV. col. 618-626. Augustine's letters are given in the same place, and in August. Opp. Ep. VIII. IX. XI. Tom. II. fol. 8, 9. Par. 1531.]

[2 Nihil autem judicandus est dicere, qui dicit aliqua justa esse mendacia, nisi aliqua justa esse peccata, ac per hoc aliqua justa esse quæ injusta sunt. Quo quid absurdius dici potest? Unde enim est peccatum nisi quia justitiæ contrarium est?... Ea vero quæ contra legem Dei fiunt, justa esse non possunt. Dictum est autem Deo, Lex tua veritas: ac per hoc, quod est contra veritatem justum esse non potest. Quis autem dubitet contra veritatem esse mendacium omne? Nullum ergo justum esse potest mendacium.—August. Opp. ad Consent. Tom. IV. fol. II. col. 2. Par. 1531.]

For the last and worst kind of lie is a pernicious lie: and that proceedeth of a corrupt mind, and tendeth to the damage of thy neighbour, which hath deserved no hurt at thy hand. This kind of lie is everywhere cried out upon throughout the scriptures: and the fault thereof increaseth according to the quantity of the mischief that it doth. For divines and ecclesiastical preachers do lie of all other most perniciously, while with lies and corrupt doctrine they kill the souls of men, and make the bodies and goods of silly seduced people both subject to the curse of God and in danger of a thousand perils more. And hereunto belongeth hypocrisy also, which the Lord Jesus doth in the gospel wonderfully taunt and bait exceedingly. Now hypocrisy doth shew itself, not only and so much in crafty and deceitful words, as also, and far more, in the whole conversation of our lives; as when we make semblance, or else dissemble such things as are not, by that means lying to God and beguiling our neighbour.

Furthermore, in this law are forbidden tale-bearings, privy slanders, backbitings, close whisperings, and all suspicions which rise by such occasions. Despiteful quips therefore, and heads that are ready to speak evil of all men, are plainly condemned. For some there are which are without honesty, not sticking to slander all estates and conditions, both high and low, private and public, and people of all ages: and for that purpose do they cast abroad infamous libels, they stick up written pasquils, and set out pictures to defame men withal. And to themselves they seem very eloquent, while with bitter words they check, and find fault with, all sorts of men: yea, they account the malapert prattling of their unbridled tongues to be a commendation of uncontrolled liberty and free licence of speaking. But they sin very grievously, which take delight in cursed speaking; that is, which carry about a tongue full of bitterness, curses, and deceit: even as they also are not without sin, that love a-life[3] to hear envenomed speech and hurtful talking.

Carrying of tales, and a tongue disposed to speak lewdly and slanderously.

Pasquil is, as I think, an image in Rome, whereupon the people are wont to stick up writings to the defamation of them whom they hate; therefore Bullinger calleth such writings by the name of that image.

But we make a difference, and do except from wrongful quarrels such accusations as are justly made and openly shewed, either by writing or word of mouth; and such kind

Just accusations.

[3 a-life, as my life, exceedingly. Nares' Glossary in voc.]

of chidings and chastenings also as preachers use in sacred sermons: for they, which do in that sort chastise and pursue wicked vices and errors, do purpose nothing else but the glory of God and safeguard of men's souls, which they desire to advance by all the means they can, not seeking to utter their spite or wreak the malice of their naughty affections.

But we may gather by many arguments, that it is a heinous crime falsely to slander and wickedly to backbite our brethren and neighbours. For there is scarcely any thing that doth so much disgrace us as backbiting doth. We are made to the similitude and likeness of God, that we may be the sons of God; but false accusations do make us, of the sons of God, to be the sons of the devil. Now we all abhor and utterly detest the name of the devil: but if thou art a wrongful slanderer, then art thou the very same that thou dost so detest: for the devil taketh his name of wrongful accusing, and is called a slanderer[1]. Moreover, in the book of Proverbs, God is said to hate backbiters and wrongful slanderers. And in the twenty-fourth chapter we read: "The thought of a fool is sin, and a slanderer is hated of men." For a good name (as the same Salomon witnesseth) is a precious treasure. When as therefore the fame and good name of a man is put in hazard by the false reports and slanders of a wicked tongue, the chiefest jewel that a man hath is put in jeopardy; so that in very deed a slanderer doth seem to sin more deeply than a thief, unless a man make more account of his transitory riches than of his name and good report: and therefore it is strange at this day, that a thief for stealing is never pardoned, and backbiters for slanders are never once touched[2]. I would to God that magistrates would once rightly weigh the sundry circumstances of sundry matters, and punish every fault with penalties agreeable to the offence, and revenge the greater crimes with great and sharper punishments. For God truly doth require of and charge every one of us, to do our best in maintaining truth, for the defence of our neighbour's good name, and preservation of his earthly substance.

Backbiting is pernicious.

[Prov. xxii. 1.]

[1 Διάβολος,—speciatim ita dicitur qui est ad calumniandum proclivis, calumniator. 1 Tim. iii. 11; Tit. ii. 3; 2 Tim. iii. 3. Schleusneri Lex. in voc.]

[2 aut minimum. Lat. omitted: or as gently as possibly may be.]

In this law also it seemeth that flattery is forbidden, which, as the proverb doth truly say, maketh a fool mad, and causeth him that is mad to be incurably mad. And therefore Salomon saith, that a flatterer is worthy to be cursed of all men. "They (saith he) which say to the wicked, thou art just, shall be cursed of the people, and hated of the tribes." And in another place: "The words of a tale-bearer be as though they were simple[3], and yet they pierce to the inward parts of the heart. When he speaketh softly, believe him not: for there are seven mischiefs in his heart." And therefore in Ecclesiastes it is very well said: "It is better to hear the rebuke of a wise man than the song of a fool," that is, of a flatterer. And yet, although flattery be so great an evil, it is notwithstanding favoured of all men; so that as an infecting plague it is crept into[4] the church[5], into princes' palaces, into judges' courts, and every private house. For, like an alluring mermaid, it hath a song that doth delight our flesh. For we, like fools, are blinded with self-love, and do not mark that flatteries and allurements do breed our destruction. Ezechiel blameth greatly all flattering preachers, and saith: "Woe unto them that say unto the people, Peace, peace, when there is no peace; which daub with untempered morter, which sew enticing pillows under every elbow, and put alluring kerchiefs upon every head[6], to hunt after and catch souls." Of such kind of teachers, that delight more in lies and flattery than in sincere verity, the apostle Paul saith: "The time shall come that they shall not abide to hear sound doctrine; but they, whose ears do itch, shall get them teachers according to their lusts, and shall turn their ears from the truth, and shall be turned into fables[7]." And David, praying against this plague, as the thing that is most pernicious to all kings and princes in authority, doth say: "The righteous shall smite me friendly[8]: but the precious balms of the wicked shall not anoint my head[9]." And again, "Lord, deliver me from lying lips and

Flattery.

[Prov. xxiv. 24.]

[Prov. xxvi. 22, 25.]

[Eccles. vii. 5.]

[Ezek. xiii. 10, 11, 18.]

[2 Tim. iv. 3, 4.]

[Ps. cxx. 2.]

[3 Bullinger follows the Vulgate.]

[4 adde et occuparit, Lat. nay, has gained possession of, omitted.]

[5 Sacram in templo cathedram, Lat.]

[6 qui consuunt blandos pulvillos sub omni axilla aut cubito, et cervicalia blanda sub omni capite, Lat.]

[7 unto, 1577, ad fabulas, Lat.]

[8 et increpabit me, Lat. omitted: and shall reprove me.]

[9 oleum autem peccatoris non impinguabit caput meum, Lat. after the Vulgate, Psal. cxli. 5.]

The tenth commandment of God. [Exod. xx. 17.]

a deceitful tongue." Thus much have I hitherto said for the exposition of the ninth commandment.

Now followeth the tenth and last commandment, which, word for word, is expressed thus: "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house, thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor his man-servant, nor his maid-servant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor any thing that is thy neighbour's." Which words the Lord in the fifth of Deuteronomy doth lay down in this manner and order: "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house, nor his field, nor his man-servant, nor his maid-servant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor any thing that is thy neighbour's." Neither is there any difference or contrariety in the thing itself, although in Exodus, "Thy neighbour's house," and in Deuteronomy, "Thy neighbour's wife," be set first in order. Now this maketh[1] somewhat against them that divide this last precept into two commandments, which is indeed but one, as it may be partly gathered by this order thus inverted in the setting of it down in two sundry places.

Deut. v.

Coveting.

In this precept coveting is especially forbidden; I mean, evil longing and corrupt desiring. For coveting is a word indifferently used, as well in the better as the worse signification. For David affirmeth that he did long after God and his law: "I have wished for (saith he), O Lord, thy salvation." And, "I have longed after thy commandments." Psal. cxix. We must here, therefore, be able with discretion to judge betwixt that good affection, which God did first create in man; and that other motion, the root of evil, that groweth in our nature by the descent of corruption from our first father Adam. There was in Adam before his fall a certain good appetite with pleasure and delight. He was not so hungry, that hunger did pain his empty bowels (which is indeed a plague for sin), but he did eat with a certain sweet and delectable appetite. He was delighted with the pleasures of Paradise. He did with a certain holy desire both love and long after the woman, which God had brought and placed before him. And this good appetite or desire proceeded from God himself, who made both Adam and all his affections good at the first. Yea, and at this day also there are in men certain natural affections and desires, as, to eat, to drink, to sleep, and such like, belonging to the preserva-

Ps. cxix.

[1 Facit autem. Lat. But this maketh. See Vol. I. p. 213.]

tion[2] of man's life, which of themselves are not to be accounted among the number of sins, unless by corruption of original vice they pass the bounds for which they are ordained. But in this treatise upon the tenth commandment desire is used in the worser part, and is taken for the concupiscence or coveting of evil things. This concupiscence, being translated from Adam into us all, is the fruit of our corrupt nature, or offspring of original sin, whose seat is in the heart of man; and is the fountain and head-spring of all sin and wickedness that is to be found in mortal men. For the Lord in the gospel doth expressly say: "Whatsoever entereth in by the mouth goeth into the belly, and is cast out into the draught: but the things that come out of the mouth proceed from the heart; and those defile the man. For out of the heart do come evil thoughts, murders, adulteries, whoredoms, theft, false witness-bearings, despiteful speaking: these be they that do defile the man." And the apostle James, speaking altogether as plainly in another place, doth say: "Let no man, when he is tempted, say that he is tempted of God: for every one is tempted while he is drawn away, and enticed with the bait of his own concupiscence. Then when lust hath conceived, it bringeth forth sin; and sin, when it is finished, bringeth forth death." [Matth. xv. 17—20.] [James i. 13—15.]

Concupiscence, therefore, is a motion or affection of the mind, which of our corrupt nature doth lust against God and his law, and stirreth us up to wickedness, although the consent, or deed itself, doth not presently follow upon our conceit. For if the deed do follow the lust, then doth the sin increase by steps and degrees. For[3] first we must consider the very blotting out, or corrupting, of the image of God in us, original sin, and that disease that lieth hid in our members, which is by us called evil affections. Secondarily, we must consider that it increaseth by our delight and pleasure therein. Thirdly, it is augmented, if we consent[4] and seek after counsel to commit the crime. And, lastly, if the consent break forth to the deed-doing, then is it greater and greater, according to the qualities of accidents or circumstances. Now all these are reckoned in the number of sins, Concupiscence.

[2 ad conservationem ac propagationem, Lat., to the preservation and propagation.]

[3 In peccato enim, Lat. omitted: for in the case of sin.]

[4 Inde sequitur fere consensus, Lat. Thence follows usually consent.]

though by degrees the one of them is greater than the other: touching which I will, by God's sufferance, speak somewhat more largely, when I come to the treatise of sin. Wherefore that evil and unlawful affection, which is of our natural corruption, and lieth hid in our nature, but bewrayeth itself in our hearts against the pureness of God's law and majesty, is that very sin, which is in this law condemned. For, although there be some which think that such motions, diseases, blemishes, and affections of the mind are no sins, yet God, by forbidding them in this law, doth flatly condemn them. But if any man doubt of this exposition, let him hear the words of the apostle, who saith: "I knew not sin, but by the law: for I had not known lust, except the law had said, Thou shalt not lust. Without the law sin was dead: I once lived without law; but when the commandment came, sin revived, and I was dead." And again, "The affection of the flesh is death, but the affection of the Spirit is life and peace: because the affection of the flesh is enmity against God; for it is not obedient to the law of God, neither can be. So then they that are in the flesh cannot please God." The affection of concupiscence therefore doth condemn us; or, as I should rather say, we are worthily condemned by the just judgment of God for our concupiscence[1], which doth every hour and moment bewray itself in the thoughts of our hearts. There are (I confess) sundry fantasies and many thoughts in the minds of men, which, while they tend not to the offence of God or our neighbour, nor do contain any uncleanness or self-love, are not to be counted in the number of sins: as I did immediately after the beginning declare unto you.

[Rom. vii. 7—9.]

[Rom. viii. 6—8.]

Man is convinced of sin.

So hitherto, verily, God hath forbidden the grosser sins which man doth daily commit against him; and now at last he cometh to the concupiscence and corrupt nature of man, the well-spring of all evil, which in this precept he goeth about to stop up and cause to sleep: or, as I should rather say, to detect to the eyes of all men the infirmity and weakness of mankind. For what is he that hath not some whiles felt concupiscence? yea, what is he, that is not every hour and moment pricked with the sting of fleshly concupiscence? What man is there, I pray you, that is not diseased with the

[1 in nobis latentem atque, Lat., omitted: which lurketh in us, and.]

natural sickness common to us all, and spotted with the blemish of original guiltiness? Being therefore convinced of sin before the Lord, we are not able to excuse our fault, nor escape the sentence of the judge that doth condemn all flesh. For the just Lord doth expressly condemn our natural corruption and wicked inclination, which is a continual turning from God, and rebellion against the sincerity which he requireth at our hands. For they are called happy that are clean in heart, because they shall see God. They therefore, whose hearts are wrapped in lusts, diseased with concupiscence, and spotted with the poison of original guilt, shall not see God. But such are all we that are the sons of Adam. And therefore this law doth convince us all of sin, infirmity, natural corruption, and of damnation which followeth upon the neck of our corruption.

What pureness God requireth of man.

Moreover, God in his law doth not only require the outward cleanness of the body, but the inward pureness also of the mind, the soul, and all our affections; and giveth charge that all, whatsoever we think, determine, go about, or do, should tend to the health and profit of our neighbour. This commandment therefore may be referred to all the other that went before. For the Lord himself expounding this commandment, "Thou shalt not commit murder," addeth: "Whosoever is angry with his brother shall be in danger of judgment," &c. Matt. v; and again, in expounding this precept, "Thou shalt not commit adultery," he addeth; "Whosoever looketh on another man's wife to lust after her, he hath committed adultery already with her in his heart."

Matth. v.

What it is that we must not covet.

And here he doth exactly rehearse the things which we do covet, and, in longing after which, we are wont to sin. Now our covetousness consisteth in the desire either of things or persons. The things that we covet are either immoveable or moveable: as we Germans do usually say, *Die guteren sind etliche ligende, etliche farende*[2]. The immoveable things are houses, farms, lands, vineyards, woods, meadows, pastures, fishpools, and such like. Things moveable are money, cattle, honour[3], office, and dignities. The persons are wife, children, man-servants and maid-servants. These and such like, which our neighbour hath in possession, none of us ought to covet

[2 Helvetice, Lat., in our Swiss phrase.]

[3 honores, Lat. honours.]

to his hurt or hinderance: or if any man happen to covet them, yet let him not consent to the concupiscence, nor take delight therein; let him not seek to obtain the thing that he so desireth, nor suffer his ill-conceived purpose to break out to the deed-doing, in taking from his neighbour his things or persons: for God requireth at the hands of those that worship him such kind of righteousness as is altogether sound and absolutely perfect, not in the outward deed alone, but also in the inward mind and settled purpose of the heart. [Matt. v. 20.] Whereupon the Lord in the gospel saith: "Unless your righteousness exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of God." But touching the manner how God's commandments are fulfilled, and that faith is the absolute righteousness, I will hereafter in another sermon tell you, as I have already said somewhat in the sermon that I made upon true faith.

Hitherto in twelve sermons I have run through and declared the ten precepts of the moral law, in which I told you that the form of virtue is laid before our eyes, thereby to frame our manners according to the will of God. God himself hath divided all the branches of his moral law into two tables. The first doth shew the duty of us men to our Creator, and teacheth how to worship aright our God and governor. The second table, in six whole precepts, doth declare what, and how much, every man is bound to owe to his neighbour, and how we may all live both quietly, well, and civilly one with another. It commandeth us to honour our parents, and all those which God hath ordained instead of our parents. It forbiddeth murder, or doing injury to any man in his life and body. It forbiddeth whoredom, adultery, and wicked lusts, commending wedlock, cleanness, and a continent life[1]. It forbiddeth lies, false witness-bearings, and evil[2] desires; and biddeth us to love our neighbours with all our hearts, being ready at all times with all our power to do them good.

To God, our Lord and most prudent lawgiver, be all praise and thanks for ever and ever. Amen.

[1 Prohibet furta, dolos, imposturas, Lat. omitted: it forbiddeth thefts, cheatings, and impositions.]

[2 et noxias, Lat. omitted: and hurtful.]

OF THE CEREMONIAL LAW OF GOD, BUT ESPECIALLY OF THE PRIESTHOOD, TIME, AND PLACE, APPOINTED FOR THE CEREMONIES.

THE FIFTH SERMON.

In the partition of God's laws, next after the moral law we placed the ceremonial law[3]: and therefore, since the moral law is already expounded, I have now next, by the help of God, to treat of the law of ceremonies. And, that I may not hide any thing from you, note this by the way: that some write *Ceremoniæ*, and some *Cerimoniæ*; which two words are used for ceremonies; considering that sundry men have sundry opinions touching the word, from whence it should come. For some (after the opinion of Servius Sulpitius) do think that they are called *Ceremoniæ a carendo*[4]. But Festus affirmeth, that[5] ceremonies did first take their name of the town Cæres, or Cærete[6]. For Livy in his fifth book saith, that the relics[7] of the Romans were kept by the towns-men of Cæres in the French wars, at what time the Frenchmen invaded Rome[8]. By which occasion it is likely that, for remembrance of the benefit, all the worship due to God, and all the holy rites or customs, were, according to the name of the town, usually called ceremonies. But from whencesoever the word is derived, we in this treatise use it for the holy deed of worshipping God, and the ecclesiastical rites of sacred religion.

Ceremonies generally, what they are.

Now ceremonies are holy rites belonging to the ministers of religion, and also to the place, time, and holy worship exhibited to God; all which, how they ought to be kept and

[3 Vol. I. p. 209.]

[4 Servius Sulpicius religionem esse dictam tradidit, quæ propter sanctitatem aliquam remota ac seposita a nobis sit, quasi a relinquendo dicta, ut a carendo ceremonia. Macrob. Saturn. Lib. III. cap. 3. See also Aul. Gell. Noct. Attic. Lib. IV. cap. 9. Augustine adopted this derivation. Retract. cap. 37.]

[5 alii existimant, Lat. omitted: some persons think that.]

[6 Cærimoniarum causam alii ab oppido Cære dictam existimant; alii a caritate dictam judicant. Festus, Lutet, 1576.]

[7 Sacra Romanorum, Lat.]

[8 —Sacra in plaustrum imposuit (L. Albinius), et Cære, quo iter sacerdotibus erat, pervexit. Liv. Lib. v. cap. 40.]

observed according as they should be, the laws called ceremonial do exactly teach and precisely describe. Ceremonies therefore are the actions and rites, which the laws or rules, called ceremonial, do frame or appoint.

Now ceremonies are ordained either by God or men. As touching those which God hath instituted, they are of two sorts: the one sort whereof he did ordain in the old Testament to the ancient Israelites; and the other, at the coming of Christ, to us that are the people of the new Testament or covenant. Of the ceremonies of the new Testament I mean to speak, when I come to treat of the church and the sacraments thereof. At this time I will discourse of the ceremonies of the old Testament, which were holy rites and actions ordained and delivered by God himself to the people of Israel until the time of amendment, partly to represent, and in a shadow to shew[1], the mysteries of God; and partly to worship God by them, and also with them to keep the people of God in a lawful religion, and in the society of one ecclesiastical body.

Human ceremonies.

But men also have brought in very many and sundry sorts of ceremonies: as among the heathen the arch-flamines did, who were the priests and ministers of idols; which offices and rooms both their kings and princes did some times supply.

[1 Kings xii. 26—33.]

Among the Hebrews, Jeroboam, king of Israel, to the destruction of him and his, did change the ceremonies which God had ordained into his own, that is, into men's inventions and detestable blasphemies.

In this latter age of the world, wherein we live, there is no ho[2] of ceremonies that are instituted daily by brain-sick[3] people: the misery whereof many learned men both have and do yet at this day lament and bewail. Augustine complaineth that in his time ceremonies did increase too fast in the church of God: what would he say (think you), if he were alive to see them now-a-days[4]? But of this I will speak at another time.

[1 velandaque, Lat. and to veil.]

[2 ho, i.e. stop, bound, limit. Johnson. See Tyndale's Doctr. Treat. Park. Soc. ed. p. 25.]

[3 This epithet is not in the Lat.]

[4 ... ipsam religionem, quam paucissimis et manifestissimis celebrationum sacramentis misericordia Dei esse liberam voluit, servilibus

Now, for because the word ceremonies is attributed as a name to any heathenish rites whatsoever, I in this treatise would have you to know, that I speak not of every ceremony, but of those only which were delivered of God by Moses to the people of Israel; not at the will of Moses, but at the will of God, by the means or ministery of Moses, according as it was said unto him: "See, that thou doest all things according to the pattern that was shewed thee in the mountain." The original therefore or beginning of these ceremonies, which we treat of, are referred to God himself, the most true and assured author thereof; and they did therefore please God, because they were godly, and might be exhibited in faith. Contrarily, the ceremonies in religion that are devised and ordained of men are utterly condemned, as is to be seen in the twelfth of Deuteronomy[5]. In the seventeenth chapter of the fourth of Kings also we find: "Israel walked in the ordinances, or ceremonies, which they themselves had made to themselves." It is known to all men, what happened to Jeroboam and his household, and all the kings of Israel, that walked in the ways of Jeroboam[6]. So then these ceremonies of ours, I mean, the ceremonies whereof I speak, are actions and rites not in profane but holy matters, which God himself did first ordain, and which God's people doth use and exercise.

[Exod. xxv. 40. Acts vii. 44. Heb. viii. 5.]

[2 Kings xvii. 8.]

Divine ceremonies.

These ceremonies were not delivered to all people or nations, but to the people of Israel only, and that too, as the apostle saith, "until the time of amendment," as that which should lie upon the shoulders of the Jews till the coming of Messiah; at what time they should be taken away, and after that appear no more. And in this sense, verily, the apostle Paul calleth the law the schoolmistress[7] until Christ.

[Heb. ix. 10.]

The end whereto ceremonies were ordained.

We have, moreover, to note the end whereunto ceremonies were ordained. Ceremonies do especially belong to the doctrine of piety and faith. For they were added to the first table, as a shore, or prop, to uphold or stay it. For they

oneribus premunt (ceremoniæ), ut tolerabilior sit conditio Judæorum. —August. Januario Ep. CXIX. Par. 1531. Tom. II. fol. 112. col. 1.— A very similar passage, with the same quotation from Augustine, occurs in Wicliffe's Apology for the Lollards, Camden Soc. ed. p. 75. Lond. 1842.]

[5 locus illustris est Deuteronomii xii. Lat.]

[6 See Vol. I. pp. 335, 6.] [7 Gal. iii. 24; pædagogia, Lat.]

teach the outward worship of the true God, which godly men do give unto him; and by them were the Israelites drawn not only from strange gods, but from strange worships also, wherewith they were too much and too long inured and trained up in the land of Egypt; to the end they should not have any occasion to receive or admit any strange kinds of worships, when they were furnished, and as it were wrapped in so exquisite sorts of curious ceremonies. This doth Moses in the twelfth of Deuteronomy make to be the cause why God appointed such busy ceremonies. Therefore ceremonies, and the use of ceremonies, are in the scripture expressly called the worship of God. For with them it pleaseth God to be worshipped; and with them he did retain his people in the true worshipping of him, and in the true religion and communion of one ecclesiastical body. For the church is severed and divided by the admitting or bringing in of new or strange ceremonies; as it is evident in the states and dealings of Salomon and Jeroboam. Moreover the apostle Paul said; "Are not they which eat of the sacrifice partakers of the altar," and so consequently of the whole religion? Furthermore, the chief or especial mysteries of Christ and his church were shadowed in ceremonies[1], and were the sacraments of the Jewish people, wherewith the Lord would bind them unto him, put them in mind of his benefits, and lastly, keep the piety, obedience, and faith of his people in ure and exercise. And because the Lord did especially require faith and faithful obedience at the hands of his servants in the observing of ceremonies, therefore those ceremonies did not please but utterly displease his majesty, so oft as the people were ignorant of the meaning of the secret mysteries contained in those figurative shews; so oft, I say, as they were without faith, and observed only the outward actions or ceremonies, without inward zeal and touch of conscience. For the Lord in Jeremy crieth out and saith: "Heap up your burnt-offerings with your sacrifices, and eat the flesh: for when I brought your fathers out of Egypt, I spoke no word unto them of burnt-offerings or sacrifices; but this I commanded them, saying, Hearken unto and obey my voice, and I will be your God, and ye shall be my people." And yet, in another place, we read that the offering of sacrifices, and that

The worship of God.

1 Cor. x.

When God liketh, and when he misliketh, ceremonies. [Jer. vii. 21—23.]

[Exod. xxix. 18, 25, 41—46. Numb. xv. &c.]

[1 velata abscondebantur, Lat.; being veiled, were hidden.]

external action of the people in worshipping God, was acceptable and of a sweet-smelling savour in the nose of the Lord. Now, whereupon riseth this diversity, I pray you, but upon the difference of the minds of them that worship the Lord? For sacrifices pleased him, and the honour that was done unto him in simple obedience and faith alone did please him too: but that religion he did utterly mislike of, wherein he was worshipped with outward shews, and not with the faith and sincere obedience of the inward heart: in which sort we read that Cain did sin; for God commanded not to sacrifice in that manner that Cain did.

Again, he commanded to sacrifice and to worship him with external ceremonies[2] in faith that Christ should come to be the Saviour of the world[3]: not that they should hope to be justified by the external action, but by him that was prefigured in all their ceremonies, Christ Jesus, the sacrifice once to be offered to save them all[4]; who was the life and meaning whereunto all those ceremonies did lead, that are expressed in the law.

The knowledge of the ceremonies is not unprofitable.

But it is not amiss here particularly to examine and look into not all and every one, but the chiefest ceremonies, and those which are more significant than the rest. Let this labour of mine not seem to any man to be more curious than needeth, or less profitable than it sheweth for. For it is undoubtedly very available to the sound understanding of the abrogation of the law[5]. All things, whatsoever God hath laid down in the holy scriptures, are altogether profitable to our edification, and do carry with them a divine authority, whereby we may confirm our minds: they therefore are very fools and godless people, or, to use a more gentle term, they are shuttle-witted[6], and ignorant of all good things, whose stomachs do rise at the ceremonies that God hath taught, and whose ears are offended to hear a sober and godly treatise upon the exposition of those divine ceremonies. Some there are, and that no small number, who think it very profitable

[2 legitime et, Lat. omitted: lawfully, and.]

[3 in fide Christi venturi Messiæ, Lat.]

[4 the sacrifice—all; not in the original.]

[5 rather, of the law that has been abrogated: legis abrogatæ, Lat.]

[6 temerarii, Lat. Shittle or shuttle; light, volatile, giddy. Richardson's Dict. in voc.]

and an excellent thing to construe Homer and Virgil allegorically; in divine ceremonies only foolish heads are persuaded that no profit or wisdom lieth secretly hidden: when indeed, in all the world again, there is nothing more profitable, more pleasant, more fine, more excellent, or more full of wisdom in allegorical types, than the ceremonies are that God hath ordained. For in them are the mysteries of Christ and his catholic church very finely, plainly, and notably described.

The sum of the ceremonies.

Now, in reckoning up and touching these several ceremonies, I will chiefly follow the very natural order. Ceremonies do appertain to the ecclesiastical worship of God. Therefore it is necessary that there should be persons appointed in the church to be the masters, or rather public ministers, of those ceremonies, to exercise and put them in practice, as the Lord ordained them. It is necessary also, that there be a certain place and time appointed, wherein and when God should be especially worshipped rather than at another place or season. Moreover, the holy rites, that is, the very ceremonies, must be appointed and certainly numbered, that the worshippers of God may know what and how great the honour is that they are bound to give unto him. And first of all, I mean to say somewhat of the persons, that is, the priests or Levites; referring still the hearers to the reading of the holy Bible, wherein the whole is fully contained and largely described.

The priesthood.

The beginning of priesthood.

The beginning of priesthood among the old people is derived or brought from the creation almost[1]: for they say, that in every family the first-begotten were always the priests. It is certain, that, when the firstborn of Egypt were slain, the Lord did by a law consecrate to himself the first-begotten of the Israelites. And the preeminence, or dignity, of the first-begotten hath always been very great by the civil law[2]. The first-begotten did always rule and bear the sway in his father's house, and was, as it were, a king among his brethren: to the first-begotten the inheritance was due, to the other brethren were portions given: the first-begotten did excel the rest in the dignity of the priesthood. Therefore when Cain and Abel did strive about their birthright, they

[Exod. xiii. 2, 15.]

I think his meaning was to have said

[1 In his treatise de Episcop. instit. et funct. cap. I. Bullinger shews that he here follows the *vetus Judæorum traditio.*]

[2 vel in legibus civilibus, Lat.: even in civil laws.]

contended not about a trifle, but about a matter of very great weight. Whereupon, when the mother-virgin is said in Luke to have borne the first-begotten son, let no man think that she was the mother of the second-begotten, or many sons more. For in that Luke calleth Christ her first-begotten son, therein is noted his dignity and excellency. For to Christ our Lord doth belong the kingdom, priesthood, and inheritance: by whose bountiful liberality we are adopted to be his partners both in the kingdom, priesthood, and inheritance of life everlasting and all heavenly things.

Esau and Jacob, instead of Cain and Abel[3]. Christ the first-begotten. [Luke ii. 7.]

But to return to our purpose again. The dignity of priesthood, among the people of Israel, did of right belong to Reuben, because he was the first-begotten; but he, by committing detestable incest, did lose his right. Next to him, therefore, was Levi[4], who also lost that dignity for the sin which he committed in killing the men of Sychem traiterously, and profaning the sacrament of circumcision. But because the tribe of Levi did behave itself manfully, not only in the bringing of the children of Israel out of Egypt, but also in punishing idolaters, I mean, the men that worshipped the golden calf; therefore did they receive the office or dignity of priesthood in reward of their virtue, and at that time were the Levites chosen to the place of the first-begotten of all the seed of Israel. For thus we read: "And Moses said unto the Levites, Consecrate your hands unto the Lord this day, every man upon his son, and upon his brother; that there may a blessing be given you this day." And again: "And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Behold, I have taken the Levites from among the children of Israel for all that first openeth the matrice among the children of Israel; and the Levites shall be mine; because all the firstborn are mine: for the same day that I smote all the firstborn in the land of Egypt, I hallowed to myself all the firstborn in Israel." And so forth. By this it appeareth that the tribe of Levi was appointed to the priesthood in the church of Israel. Moreover this dignity, or ministry, was singularly confirmed to this tribe immediately upon the insurrection of Korah, Dathan, and Abiron, by the wonderful miracle that the Lord

[Gen. xlix. 3, 4. 1 Chron. v. 1.]

[Gen. xxxiv. xlix. 5—7.] The Levites chosen to be priests.

Exod. xxxii. [29.]

Numb. iii. [12, 13.]

[3 This correction of the translator is perhaps not necessary. Bullinger probably took Calvin's view.—Conf. Calv. Comment. in loc.]

[4 successit ergo Levi, Lat.]

wrought upon Aaron's rod, which budded alone among the other eleven twigs, for a witness that God had appointed the tribe of Levi alone to the office and function of holy priesthood. And for that cause was the same rod put into the ark, and kept in the tabernacle, to the end that none other tribe should affect the priesthood at any time thereafter. All which is largely declared in the sixteenth and seventeenth chapters of the Book of Numbers.

Certain degrees among the priests.

Now there was among the Levites a certain order; there were degrees, and, as it were, appointments unto sundry offices. For the Levites were divided into three families, that is, into Cahatites[1], Gersonites, and Merarites: and they again were parted into four orders. For first of all, out of the family of Cahat were chosen princes, to bear the sway and rule the rest: to them the remnant of the Cahatites, and the other two orders, the Gersonites and Merarites, were subject, and did obey the first sort of Cahatites that were their governors. For Aaron, the chief priest, with Ithamar and Eleazar his sons, had the preeminence among the rest. For thus we read in the third of Numbers: "And thou shalt give the Levites unto Aaron and to his sons; for they are given unto him of the children of Israel. And thou shalt appoint Aaron and his sons to wait on their priests' office; and the stranger that cometh nigh shall be slain." Therein did Aaron, the chief priest, bear the type or figure of Christ, the true, the best, and greatest king and bishop, to whom all Christians are subject, as to their chief bishop and head, whose dwelling is in heaven[2].

Among the Levites such were chosen to the ministry as were most fit for it.

And here observe, that all the Levites did not serve in the tabernacle, nor that they all did everywhere through the land of Israel instruct and teach. There were certain ordinances touching the choice and refusal of those among the Levites that were to be called to the ministry or priesthood. Time will not serve me to reckon all the laws appointed for that purpose; the chief whereof are to be seen in the twenty-first and twenty-second chapters of Leviticus. In the eighth chapter of the book of Numbers the age is appointed of them that should be thought fit for the ministry; that is, from the twenty-fifth to the fiftieth year of their age. The priests, that were called

[1 Cahatites: Kohathites.]

[2 quorum ipse summus pontifex et caput in cœlis est, Lat.]

and chosen to the ministry, were also consecrated. The manner of consecrating them is far more large and busy than that I can in few words declare it. By their consecration was meant, that they ought to be adorned with sundry gifts, and endued with holy conversation, that serve the church in the office of priesthood. For to this doth especially belong the anointing of the priests, which is a type of the Holy Ghost, wherewithal unless an ecclesiastical minister be endued, he exerciseth the office to his own destruction. This ceremonial anointing of priests is set down by Moses in the twenty-ninth of Exodus, the eighth of Leviticus, and the eighth chapter of the book of Numbers. To this we must add also the habit or apparel that the priests did use. The priests ware, when they did not minister in their charge or office, such kind of garments as laymen did, as we may gather out of Ezechiel[3]; but when they did serve in the ministry, then did they wear ceremonial raiment according to God's commandment. A very large description whereof Moses doth very well set down in the twenty-eighth and thirty-ninth chapters of Exodus.

1 John ii.

There are in number nine sorts of ceremonial garments[4]; yet some do reckon up but eight; Josephus maketh ten[5]. First of all, the priests, before they went about their offices, did wash themselves in water[6], and then put on their holy garments. Among those garments, some there were indifferently used both of the inferior and chief priests. And first, their privities are hidden with linen breeches coming down to their knees and hams; the upper part whereof was tied above their hips with a gathering band, like the upper part of our common slops[7], to the end that, if they should chance to

The priests' raiment.

Breeches.

[3 Ezek. xlii. 14.—alienis, id est, vulgaribus vestimentis amicti (sacerdotes) multitudini admiscebantur. Œcolampadius, Comment. in loc. cit. fol. 264. Argent, 1534.]

[4 In the following account of the garments of the Jewish priests Bullinger has largely borrowed from Jerome's Epist. ad Fabiolam, de veste sacerdotali. Hieron. Opp. Par. 1693—1706. Tom. II. col. 574, &c.]

[5 Joseph. Antiq. Lib. III. cap. 7.]

[6 aqua munda, Lat. pure water.]

[7 caligarum nostrarum, Lat. Slops: trowsers, Johnson. Homily (Oxf. ed. 1832, p. 285) Against excess of Apparel. But the corresponding word in the auth. ver. of Isai. iii. 20, there quoted, is "the ornaments of the legs."]

fall, while they were busy in killing their sacrifices, or in bearing of burdens to and fro, the parts should not appear which shame doth bid to cover.

The close frock or cassock.

Upon their linen breeches they had a close coat, made of double linen, which (as Josephus saith) was made of silk[1]. That was plain, or close to the body, without plait or gathering[2], and came down just to the calf of the leg. Such[3] were soldiers wont to wear, and called them cassocks[4]; so fit for their limbs and close to their bodies, that they were light, and without let either to run or fight. And therefore the priests, making themselves ready to the ministery of God, put on such a cassock, that, being comely clad, they might, notwithstanding, with much expedition discharge their office, and exercise their ministery.

The girdle

The third kind of raiment, that was a belt or girdle, did gird that cassock about the priest. This girdle was woven of purple, scarlet, and blue silk[5], like to an adder's skin, hanging down beneath the knee, but in the holy ministery tucked up again upon the left shoulder[6].

The cap or mitre.

The fourth kind of ornament was a mitre, or a round little cap, which covered his head almost to the ears, in fashion like as if a man should cut a bowl even in the midst, and set the upper part upon his head[7].

The Ephod.

Then was the ephod, (whereof mention is made, not in Exodus, where the ceremonial garments are reckoned up as it were of purpose, but in other places of holy scripture,) which garment was indifferently common to all the priests. This ephod is thought to have been a linen cloak; such an one as David ware when he danced before the ark. Of the priests which Saul slew by the hands of Doeg the Edomite, thus we read: "And he killed that same day eighty-five men that ware linen ephods." His meaning is, not that they were slain while the ephods were on their backs; but that they were killed, when they were of that age and order, that

[Judg. xvii. 5; xviii. 14. 1 Sam. ii. 18.]

[2 Sam. vi. 14.]

[1 Sam. xxii. 18.]

[1 —διπλῆς σινδόνος βυσσίνης. Joseph. ibid. § 2. Exod. xxviii. 40.]

[2 Adhæret corpori plana, Lat.] [3 lineas, Lat.]

[4 camisia, Lat. a linen coat, which soldiers wore close to their body. Ainsworth.]

[5 bysso hyacinthoque. Lat. and Joseph. ibid. μετὰ ὑακίνθου καὶ βύσσου.]

[6 Joseph. ibid. § 2.]

[7 Joseph. ibid. § 3. Exod. xxviii. 40.]

they might wear an ephod; that is, that they might minister in the priesthood of the Lord. Therefore in Osee we read, [Hos. iii. 4.] "Thou shalt be without ephod, and teraphim;" that is, without priesthood and religion. For the ephod began to be used for the very priesthood; the garment, or the sign, for the thing signified. But if any man will take these words of Osee to be spoken of the more notable ephod (of which I shall have cause to speak anon), I will not greatly gainsay him. Now this linen ephod seemeth not to differ much from that which the Papists do[8] call a surplice[9]. These five garments the chief priest and under priests did use alike. The other four do properly belong to the high priest alone.

The first of the four was called megil, and was a coat down to the ancles[10]; a garment of all blue silk, from the neck down to the sole of the foot, being close on every side, unless it were the places to put his head and arms out at: at the hems beneath did hang seventy-two bells, and as many pomegranates, so placed that still between two bells there hung one pomegranate, and betwixt two pomegranates one bell: the cause thereof is made to be this, that, when the high priest went into the holy of holies, the sound might be heard; because he should by and by die the death unless he did so[11]. The megil.

Now followeth the ephod of the high priest, which differeth much from that whereof I spake before. For it was not of linen, but woven with weaver's work of divers colours of gold, purple, and silk; being unlike to the other in shape and making. For it belonged to the high priests alone, and was a breast-lap, coming over the bulk from the neck to the hips: for, like a curet[12], it covered the breast; it came over the hinder part of the shoulders, and about both the sides under the arm-holes: bearing the same fashion that at this day women's stomachers do, which we Switzers call *libli*[13]. This ephod be ware upon the top of his megil, that came down to The breast-lap or high priest's ephod.

[8 hodie, Lat. omitted: at this day.]

[9 pallium, camisiam, vel vestem chori, Lat.]

[10 vestis inquam sinuosa, Lat. omitted: a plaited garment.]

[11 Exod. xxviii. 31-35. Joseph. ibid. § 4.]

[12 curet, or curiet, a breastplate or corslet, from *cuir*, leather; breastplates being at first made of that material. Toone's Glossary in voc.]

[13 The word which Luther's version has is *leibrock*.]

the ancles[1]. Upon each shoulder he bare an onyx-stone, called schoham[2]; wherein were graven the names of the children of Israel: against the breast there was nothing woven in it, but a place was left void for the breast-lap of judgment. For the breast-lap of judgment, which is called hosen, was the eighth ornament of their attire; and it was a woven cloth made of gold, purple, and silk, about an hand-breadth square, and double, and hemmed about on every side, because it should not ravel out. In that there was woven precious stones of a wonderful greatness (for the kind) and of a marvellous price; which were placed so in four sundry rows, that every rank contained three stones; in which, as in the onyx-stones, were graven the names of the children of Israel[3]. They glistered with a wonderful brightness; for no stones were set in the breast-lap but such as shone exceedingly. Whereby it seemeth that Urim and Thummim was nothing else but these rows of precious stones: for Urim and Thummim signify light and perfectness; for, as these stones did give great light, so were they pure without all manner of spots. And they thought that the high priest did never say right in a matter of weight, nor, when he was asked, did utter truly the answers and oracles of God, but when the breast-lap of judgment did hang on his breast. Now this breast-lap of judgment was tied to the ephod, or the other breast-lap, by golden rings beneath; and above, it hung down the shoulders by golden chains, that were fastened under the onyx-stones. This was the most precious and excellent part of the high priest's apparel. For it was the coffer of wisdom, and treasure of all law and knowledge, of equity and justice, from whence the Israelites did fetch, as it were, the determinate answers to such doubts as at any time they stuck upon: which is the cause (as it seemeth) that some have translated Urim and Thummim into the Greek δήλωσις καὶ ἀλήθεια[4];

[Exod. xxviii. 6—14.]

The breast-lap of judgment.

[Exod. xxviii. 30.]

Urim and Thummim.

[1 Joseph. ibid. § 5. and de Bell. Jud. Lib. v. cap. 5. § 7.]

[2 gemmæ pretiosæ, Lat. omitted: precious stones.]

[3 Exod. xxviii. 15-29. Josephus, ib. § 5.]

[4 Levit. viii. 8. LXX. ἐπέθηκεν ἐπὶ τὸ λογεῖον τὴν δήλωσιν καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν. Hoc vero quid significabatur aliud, quam quod in pectore sacerdotis debet esse verum judicium de rebus divinis, quod deinde non sibi retineat, sed coram ecclesia proferat cum veritate?—Bullinger. de Epic. instit. et funct. Lib. II. fol. 70.]

that is (say they) doctrine and truth is in the priest's breast.

The last of all is the golden plate. For upon the high priest's head there was a blue silk lace, whereupon this plate was put, which was broad beneath and sharp above; in fashion somewhat like to the label of a bishop's mitre; wherein was written, "Holy to the Lord," or, "The holiness of the Lord." For Christ, our Lord, alone is holiest of all, and he that sanctifieth us all. He is an antichrist that doth usurp that name or title. Some think, that in that plate was written that name of God that was not lawful for any man to utter[5]. This plate was tied to the cap[6], full upon the forehead, with a blue silk lace, and was as it were a crown upon his head[7]. Thus, I say, were the high priest and under priests arrayed at the first.

The golden plate.

That name was Jehovah, which wheresoever the Israelites did find it written, they did not call Jehovah, but expressed it by the word Adonai, which signifieth Lord: so greatly did they reverence the majestical name of God.

These sundry ceremonies have sundry and godly significations. The use and end of these ordinances the Lord declared by Moses to be for glory and comeliness' sake: for they were invented, partly for the winning of credit and authority to the ministers of religion, and partly for the commendation or advancement of religion itself; because the things are most regarded, that are set forth with so great solemnity. Moreover, it was profitable and especially necessary with these busy ceremonies to set awork the people, which, if they had been without such ceremonies of their own, was very profane, and ready to have embraced the idolatrous rites of heathen nations.

Furthermore, those ceremonial clothes, used by the priests, Aaron's successors, do offer to us the beholding[8] of Christ, the true and highest priest. He was apparelled with the garment of righteousness, temperance, and virtue; which garment is common unto us also. For all Christians must put on and be clad with Christ. And yet Christ hath the pre-eminence, as the high and chiefest priest among us all; not only because he

The meaning of the priests' apparel.

[5 In qua (i. e. lamina aurea) scriptum est nomen Dei Hebraicis quattuor litteris, *jod, he, vav, he,* quod apud illos ineffabile nuncupatur. Hieron. Ep. ad Fabiol. Tom. II. col. 581. Par. 1693—1706.]

[6 commune omnium sacerdotum. Lat. omitted: which was common to all the priests.]

[7 Exod. xxviii. 36-38. Joseph. ibid. § 6.]

[8 exhibent spectandum, Lat.]

doth sanctify us, and endue us with virtue; but also because he hath certain properties peculiar to himself, as he that is both very God and the Saviour of the world. He beareth us upon his breast and shoulders, as Aaron did the precious stones[1]: for we are not vile, but very dear, in the sight of God. Out of the breast of our high priest, Christ, doth glister and shine the light of eternal wisdom: for in him, as it were in the treasury of God's eternal wisdom, are all the riches of knowledge and wisdom laid up and locked. He is the light of the world; he is both truth and perfectness; so that all the world should of right require and seek at Christ alone for laws, ordinances, answers, and whatsoever else is needful to perfectness and true happiness. He is the Holy of holies, the very majesty and holiness of God: upon his head is the crown of glory very rightly placed, as he that sanctifieth only, reigneth in glory, and liveth for evermore.

Besides all this, the priests were by these ceremonies taught to understand, by their very apparel, what was required at their hands, and what kind of men they ought to be. Let the priests be always ready to the executing of their office; let them walk honestly before God and men; let them be temperate and far from lust and sensuality; let their loins be girded with the belt of justice and verity; let their breast, their sides, and back be furnished with the word of God; let their head be covered with the helmet of salvation; upon that let Christ Jesus, the Saviour, be placed; and let him be the chief of the ministers and of the ministry: but chiefly let the priest be heard in the church: for if he be dumb, he shall die the death; but if he ring out the name of the Lord, and preach his law, then doth he stir up in the church a savour, far passing the smell of sweet pomegranates, in the nose of God. Therefore under these clothes is hidden the signification of the priests' manners, of their virtues and vices. Next after a man's talk, there is nothing that doth commend him sooner than his apparel. For as the man is, such is his talk, such is his clothing: therefore the raiment doth note of what conversation the priest ought to be. Whereupon it cometh that in the scriptures we are bidden to put on other clothing; when the meaning of the Holy Ghost is,

[1 Gestat nos in humeris suis et in pectore suo, veluti gemmas pretiosas, Lat.]

that we should change our wicked conversation: so that the very garments do partly instruct the priests what they have to do, and what is seemly for them.

The priests' office.

But now the time and course of this treatise inviteth me to speak somewhat of the priests' office. Their office did consist in many things, but especially in teaching and instructing. For the chief cause why the priests were ordained of God was to instruct the church in true piety, and to teach the people the law of God. For thus we read that the Lord did say unto Aaron: "Thou and thy sons that are with thee, shall drink neither wine nor strong drink, when ye enter into the tabernacle of witness, lest haply ye die. Let it be an everlasting ordinance among your posterities, that ye may put difference both betwixt holy and unholy, and betwixt clean and unclean; and that ye may teach the sons of Israel all the statutes which the Lord hath spoken unto them by the ministery of Moses." Levit. x. The same law doth Ezechiel in as many words almost rehearse in the forty-fourth chapter of his prophecy. And Malachi declareth it also, as it is to be seen in the second of his prophecy. They therefore are utterly deceived, which think that the Levitical priests were appointed only for to kill the sacrifices. Moreover, the Lord doth every where in his laws minister matter for the Levitical priests to instruct the people in; and that matter was not the heathenish philosophy, the edicts of kings, or decrees of senators, but the very word of God, delivered to them by God himself. And that this doctrine might be the more commodiously uttered to the people, the priests appointed certain holy days[2], wherein the people should assemble together, to hear them preach the word of God.

Let priests teach.

Let them bless.

The next point of their duty[3], after teaching, was to bless the people. That blessing was not free for every priest to use as he listed, but was bound to a certain form of words, very solemnly uttered, which is thus expressed in the sixth of Numbers: "And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto Aaron and his sons, saying, On this wise ye shall bless the children of Israel, and say unto them: The Lord bless thee and keep thee: the Lord shew his face unto thee, and be

Numb. vi.

[2 indicebant fastos, Lat.]

[3 non minimum officiorum, Lat.: and that, not the least of their duties.]

merciful unto thee; the Lord lift up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace." This manner of blessing did they use undoubtedly in their holy assemblies, especially at the breaking up of the congregation, when the people did depart. In another place it is said, that God did bless; but here, that Aaron and his sons did bless the people: whereupon we have to note, that God doth work inwardly, and perform in the faithful, whatsoever the priests in that form of blessing did wish unto the people[1]; so that still to bless is the only and proper work of God alone. And therefore, very significantly, after that solemn blessing uttered by the mouth of the priest, God doth add: "And they shall call, or put, my name over, or upon the children of Israel; and I will bless them." The priests, therefore, do lay before the people the name of the Lord; they commend unto them the mighty power of his Godhead; and shew them that all goodness doth flow from God, teach[2] them how they may obtain[3] it through faith in Christ, who is the blessed Seed that blesseth all them that call upon his name.

Now in this solemn blessing six principal points are chiefly contained. First the priest saith, "The Lord bless thee:" that is, the Lord bestow upon thee whatsoever belongeth to the safety of thy body and soul. Secondarily he saith, "The Lord keep thee;" for it is not sufficient to receive good things[4] at the hand of the Lord, unless they be preserved by his power, and not taken from us by his wrathful indignation, nor lost again by our own negligence. Thirdly he saith, "The Lord shew thee his face," or, "the Lord make his face shine upon thee." The Lord doth then shew us his loving face, when after his anger he sheweth us his favour, and doth become good and gracious to us. And therefore in the fourth clause doth follow a more plain exposition, where the priest saith, "The Lord be merciful unto thee:" as if he should have said, The Lord be always gentle and favourable unto thee in all that thou goest about, either in words or deeds. The fifth blessing is, "The Lord lift up his countenance upon thee." Now the Lord lifteth up his countenance, when he looketh upon us, when he watcheth over us, and doth direct and guide our ways. The last desire is, "Peace;" which is taken for the salvation and chief goodness

[1 externis sensibus ingerunt sacerdotes, Lat.]
[2 teaching, ed. 1577.] [3 possimus, Lat.]
[4 corporis et animæ, Lat. omitted: of the body and soul.]

that happeneth unto mankind, although in another sense it is put for the contrary to war or battle: and the peace of the conscience is no small felicity to mortal men[5]. These were the good things that the priests did wish to light upon the people, teaching them withal to beseech the Lord for those blessings with ardent prayers and earnest supplications. Even till this day there do remain the psalms that the priests did make for the people's sake to sing. For after that David had brought music into the temple, then did the playing upon musical instruments, with sweet melody and singing of psalms, begin to be taken for an office amongst the priests. Touching this music used in the temple the first book of Chronicles speaketh very much, where it treateth of David and his dealings, how he distributed the singers into twenty-four orders, and that by course.

Sacrifices and ministering of the sacraments was commanded to the priests.

Moreover, the priests were commanded[6] to minister the sacraments, and to sacrifice. For they did circumcise the infants[7]; their office was to see the passover eaten, and to offer sacrifices of sundry sorts unto the Lord: of which I will speak hereafter in place convenient. And that they might more commodiously offer their sacrifices, David, by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, divided the two families of Eleazar and Ithamar into twenty-four orders: for they did minister by course, as is to be seen in the twenty-fourth chapter of the first of Chronicles. All the while that their turn to minister did last the priests remained still within, and never did set a foot out of the temple. For there were houses builded within the temple for the priests to dwell in, when their lot did come to serve the Lord; they never went unto their own houses until their course were expired, and their time to minister were fully finished. The priests also did keep the holy vessels and make them clean; they kept the candles burning, and the holy fire, that it should not go out: to be short, they had the charge of all things which seemed to belong to the service of God, as oil, frankincense, and such like things.

The priests carried the tabernacle and vessels of the Lord.

Now before the temple was erected, and that the Israelites had obtained a place where to settle themselves in the land of promise, the priests' office was to see the tabernacle pitched

[5 juge convivium, Lat.: a continual feast. Prov. xv. 15.]

[6 rem facere divinam, administrare inquam, Lat.: to perform the service of God, I mean &c.]

[7 The Mosaic Law did not require the priests to be the operators.]

down, and taken up again, and carried to and fro. For in the third of Numbers thus we read: "The Levites shall keep all the instruments of the tabernacle of the congregation, and have the charge of the children of Israel, to do the service of the tabernacle." For the tabernacle was so appointed, that when they journeyed it might be taken into many pieces[1]. Therefore, when the Israelites were ready to remove their camp, Aaron and his sons came with the coverings appointed for the purpose, to wrap up and carry the holy vessels in. The Cahatites bare the ark, the table, the altar[2], and instruments belonging thereunto. The Gersonites had charge over the cords, the coverings, the hangings, the curtains, the veils, and ropes, belonging to the tabernacle. The Merarites did bear the harder stuff that was made of wood and brass, as the pillars, bars, stakes, and planks. All which whosoever desireth to understand more nearly, let him read the third and fourth chapters of the book of Numbers. When the temple was builded, there were porters and warders of the temple appointed among the Levites. The trumpets also, wherewith the congregation was called together, were in the Levites' hands[3]; as we read in the tenth of Numbers. The priests also were appointed to be ready and serve in the wars, as is to be seen in the twentieth of Deuteronomy. For the Lord would not have the laws to be hushed where armour did clatter; for victories do avail greatly to godliness and the study of religion.

[1 Chron. xxvi. 1, &c.] Doorkeepers. Trumpeters.

The priests were appointed to serve in war.

Beside this also the priests had yet another office; that was, to judge betwixt cause and cause, between clean and unclean: both which are more largely declared in the seventeenth of Deuteronomy, and in the thirteenth and fourteenth chapters of Leviticus. For as often as any difficult matter happened to rise among them, the hearing of it was brought to the mother city Hierusalem[4]: and if any man were suspected to be a leper, the Levitical priests did judge of his disease according to the laws that were prescribed them. So hitherto I have summarily laid down the offices of priesthood among the old people, reckoning up only the especial parts belonging to their service.

The priests did judge betwixt cause and cause.

[1 So ed. 1577: places, ed. 1587; partes, Lat.]
[2 aras, Lat. altars.]
[3 sacerdotum, Lat.: in the priests' hands.]
[4 Hierusalem is not in the Latin.]

Now as those priests did serve the Israelitish church, so did they live of the revenues of the church. For the Lord appointed them certain stipends and dwelling-places in the land of promise. For he assigned forty-eight cities for them to inhabit in the land of Israel, six whereof were cities of refuge for men to fly unto, as unto sanctuaries. Moreover he commanded to lay out and appoint, for the sustenance of the priests' cattle and families, the suburbs and ferms without the walls of the cities, within a thousand cubits' compass on every side. In those cities were schools, so conveniently placed throughout all the land, that all men might easily go with very small pain from the places thereabout unto the synagogues, to hear the word of God. In those cities there was no sacrifice made: for they were commanded to sacrifice in one place alone; and thrice a year they went up to the temple to sacrifice unto the Lord: but every sabbath-day the law was taught in every town where the synagogues were. Moreover the rents belonging to the priests were great and ample; as is to be seen in the eighteenth of the book of Numbers, and in the last of Leviticus. The wealth of the priests was enough and sufficient to maintain their families, and to live themselves honestly. And they with that stipend did not give themselves to riot and idleness; but, living moderately, did apply themselves to learning, and teaching of the people. Thus much hitherto touching the persons belonging to the ministry of holy religion.

The stipends and dwelling-places assigned to the priests.

A thousand cubits geometrical make one mile, three quarters of a mile, and 500 paces, reckoning five feet to every pace.

A synagogue was a place for people to assemble themselves together in to hear the word or law of the Lord. [Deut. xvi. 16.]

And for because by law they could not sacrifice but in one place alone, there was a certain place appointed to the people, wherein, as in an holy shop, the priests should exercise their holy ministry in sacrificing to the Lord; and therefore now the very order and course of this argument doth require, that I say somewhat touching that holy place. That place in the beginning was the tabernacle built by Moses, and afterward the temple which Salomon did make. The law, which forbad them to sacrifice any where but in that one place alone, unless it were by dispensation, is extant in the twelfth of Deuteronomy, and in the seventeenth chapter of Leviticus; and doth contain the mystery of Christ, who was offered up but once, and in one place, to cleanse the sins of the world. Of whom I will speak somewhat more hereafter.

The holy place.

Now that tabernacle, or tent, (being called the tabernacle

of appointment[1], because the Lord appointed it both to give answers in, and to have his lawful worship duly accomplished in) was to the people instead of a temple, so long as they wandered and dwelt in the wilderness. For insomuch as they strayed forty years in the desert, it was not convenient for them to have a settled temple, but such an one as in their journeys they might carry to and fro, so oft as they removed. That tabernacle was erected in this order, and was in a manner of this form and fashion. First of all there were stuck into the earth, close by the ground, silver sockets to fasten in and set boards upon, to make a wall withal: under every plank, or board, were two sockets. For every board had two tenons, like pikes, whereby they were stuck into the sockets.

The fashion of the tabernacle.

The boards on either side of the tabernacle, north and south, were twenty in number: at the upper end, which was toward the west, were ten boards, or planks, all laid over with gold, and ten cubits high apiece. These, when they were set up, were stuck or fastened into the sockets: upon the back sides those boards had golden rings, through which were bars of sittim wood (which is thought to be white-thorn) thrust; partly, to join the boards close together, that they might be like a wall without chink or crevice; and partly, to make them stand stedfast without wagging to and fro. The *sanctum* on the east side was shut up with a veil. Moreover, there were made ten curtains, or hangings, of broidered work[2], which were coupled together with loops or taches. These curtains were laid upon the tops of the boards that were set upright, as it had been the rafter or roof of an house: over which curtains were three coverings more, the uppermost whereof was of taxus leather[3], well able in rain to keep water out.

[Exod. xxvi. 15—29.]

[Exod. xxvi. 31—33.]

Now the tabernacle was in length thirty cubits, and in breadth ten cubits; as may be gathered by the measure of the boards. It was divided also into three parts: the first was called *sanctum sanctorum*, holy of holies, and *adytum cœdis* (the house[4] into which no man came but the high priest alone),

[Exod. xxvi. 1—14.]

[1 אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד. The tabernacle of the congregation. Auth. ver.]

[2 opere Phrygio, Lat. Pictas vestes...acu facere Phryges invenerunt, ideoque Phrygioniæ appellatæ sunt.—Plin. Hist. Nat. VIII. 74.]

[3 תְּחָשִׁים, badgers' skins. Auth. ver.]

[4 the house—alone, not in the Lat.]

or the chancel of the temple[5] the second was the *sanctum*, whose length was twenty cubits, as the length of the first was ten: the third part was called *atrium*, the court, which had in length an hundred cubits, and in breadth fifty. This *atrium* was compassed about with fifty-three pillars, that were fastened down into brasen sockets, and were in height five cubits; upon which there hung hangings of network, through which a man might easily see: at the very entry was hanged a veil twenty cubits long upon four pillars. The *sanctum sanctorum* was divided from the *sanctum* by the most precious veil, hanged upon four pillars of silver: and the *sanctum* was severed from the *atrium* with the second veil, that was very precious, and hung upon five pillars laid over with gold. In the midst of the *atrium* did stand the inner house, I mean, the tabernacle, that is divided (as I said even now) into the *sanctum* and the *sanctum sanctorum*.

Into the *sanctum sanctorum* no man did enter but the high priest only once in a year. Therein was laid the ark of the covenant of our Lord betwixt the cherubin; whereunto some (upon the apostle's words) do add the golden censer. But other there be which think that by θυμιατήριον is meant the incense altar, and not the censer. It should seem thereby (if these fellows be not deceived), that at the time when the apostle writ, the golden altar did stand within the veil in the *sanctum sanctorum*. But it is manifest by the fortieth chapter of Exodus, (as I mean to shew you anon,) that the golden altar from the beginning was placed in the *sanctum* before the veil. And thereunto agreeth that which may be gathered out of the first chapter after St Luke. But howsoever it was, this is sure, that the ark of the covenant was not seen of any mortal man, but of the high priest alone, when he offered incense in the *sanctum sanctorum*, once in a year. For it was hid with the first veil, the staves wherewith it was borne appearing a little within the *Sanctum*, by the bearing up of the veil which was somewhat thrust out with the ends of the staves; so that he which stood any thing nigh in the *sanctum* might easily discern it, but of him that stood farther off it could hardly be perceived. For in the eighth chapter of the third book of Kings thou readest: "And they drew out the staves, that the ends of

What things were laid in the tabernacle. [Heb. ix. 4.]

[Exod. xl. 26, 27. Luke i. 9.]

[1 Kings viii. 8.]

[5 oraculum templi, Lat.]

them might appear out of the *sanctum sanctorum* into the *sanctum*, but they were not seen without." The *sanctum* was open daily for the priests, that did by course supply the place of ministry before the Lord. In the *sanctum*, before the veil, was placed the golden table furnished with shew-bread, upon the north side[1]: right over against it, upon the south side[2], was set the golden candlestick. Now in the midst, betwixt[3] those twain, before the veil and the ark, did stand the golden altar, called the altar of incense, which was consecrated to the burning of sweet perfumes. And in the *atrium*, not very far from the second veil of the *sanctum*, did appear the altar of burnt-offerings; and betwixt the altar and the veil was put the laver, out of which the priests did wash themselves, when they began to go about their ministry. All the people, which came to the sacrifice, might easily on every side see to the altar. And of this sort was the holy tabernacle, which was to the Israelites instead of a temple: touching which he shall read more largely and fully, whosoever will look in the twenty-sixth, twenty-seventh, thirty-sixth, thirty-eighth, and fortieth chapters of Exodus.

The Latin copy here doth square from the words of the twenty-sixth of Exodus, where we find (as I have turned it) that the table stood on the north side, whereas the Latin copy saith, on the south side, and calleth it *pars australis*.

Now so much as I have hitherto spoken touching the building of the tabernacle hath a very good end to be applied unto, and containeth and comprehendeth no obscure signification. For first of all, it was profitable to nourish and maintain the unity of the catholic faith. For with that one tabernacle, as with a sure bond, they[4] were tied, first to God and his religion, and then among themselves one to another, as it were, sundry members compact and knit into one body. For to that tabernacle the whole people was gathered, as to one parish-church, to worship and pray unto one God and Lord. And for because the children of Israel did dwell in tabernacles, it pleased the Lord also to have a tabernacle builded for himself, and placed in the midst of them, that thereby he might testify that he himself doth dwell in the midst of his people. The tabernacle therefore being as it were the palace of God, the most high and mighty king, did stand in the midst of the people, as a testimony of his divine presence, to strike the fear and reverence of God into the

The meaning of the tabernacle.

[1 in parte australi, Lat.] [2 in latere meridionali, Lat.]
[3 Joseph. Antiq. Lib. III. cap. VI. § 8.]
[4 Israelitæ, Lat.; the Israelites.]

hearts of all his subjects. We men lay up in our tabernacles, or houses, the things that we have; and will be sought for and asked after at our houses. And therefore the Lord did place in the tabernacle the holy things, as it were his treasure; and would be inquired after in the tabernacle, promising that there he would hear the prayers and requests of all the faithful that called upon his name.

Moreover in those ceremonies are contained the secret mysteries of Christ and his church. For Paul calleth us the temple of God, and our bodies the tabernacle of the Lord: for in us the Lord doth[5] dwell. The boards of the tabernacle are, as it were, the rafters, beams, and pillars of the church. And the church hath her pillars, which are doctors and other excellent men inspired with the Holy Ghost[6]: and every several faithful man is a board laid over with gold, if he keep sincerity, and remain in the unity of the faith. The boards of the tabernacle were joined together with bars: and so must sound doctrine keep all the faithful (which are the boards of the mystical tabernacle) in their duty and quiet concord, without crack or crevice. The curtains, though they were many, yet were they knit together with golden loops, as if they had been but all one piece: and therefore the sundry members of the church must be gathered together, and by charity be knit together in one, that they may be one among themselves, and, as it were, a roof of righteousness in the church of God. The coverings of the church, to keep out storms, are faith, repentance, and[7] desire to do good. Christ himself is the socket thereof; "for none other foundation can be laid than that is already laid, even Christ Jesus." [1 Cor. iii. 11.] Moreover, the veil that was spread before the *sanctum sanctorum* doth signify, as the apostle[8] saith, that the way of the saints, which they had to go in, was not as then made manifest, so long as the first tabernacle did stand. Therefore, when Christ was come, and with his death had finished all, then the veil that hung in the temple was rent from the top to the very ground: whereby all men might understand, that Heb. ix.

[5 vult, Lat.; will, ed. 1577.]

[6 heroico vel principali spiritu præditos, Lat.; referring to Psalm li. 14, which the Vulgate renders, spiritu principali confirma me.]

[7 vel, Lat.; or.]

[8 did signify, as the holy apostle, ed. 1577.]

the way was opened into the *sanctum sanctorum*, that is, into the very heavens; and that satisfaction was made for all men in respect of the law[1]. In the tabernacle also did hang other veils, which were as shadows of the flesh[2] of Christ. Those veils did hang at the very entry into the *sanctum* and the *atrium*. Now Christ, our Lord, is the way and the door, by whose incarnation and death we have an entry made into the kingdom of God. Yea, Christ himself is our tabernacle, in whom we dwell and live, and in whom we worship and please our God: he is the curtain and ceiling, the rafter and ornament of his church: he is the trusty and most assured covering, that doth defend us from the injuries of man and the devil: he is the bar of the church, which joineth the members thereof together, and keepeth them in the unity of faith[3]: he is the pillar and socket of his church; he is the head[4], and only all-in-all both of our life and true salvation. In those figures, therefore, they of old had the chief mysteries hidden of Christ and the church; in which Christ is now no otherwise to be beheld, than he was in the beginning of the world beheld of the ancient patriarchs, to wit, very God and very man, the only and highest king and priest, the true Saviour of the world, in whom and by whom alone the faithful have their whole salvation.

The history of the ark of God.

To proceed now: this tabernacle, by the Lord's appointment, was erected in Silo, as soon as they came into the land of promise, and did continue there until the time of Heli; as is evident in the eighteenth of Josue, and first of Samuel, first and third chapters. Under Heli the ark was taken by the Philistines, and carried into Palestine[5]; from whence it was restored again, and placed in Bethsemes; from thence again it was carried to Kirjath-jearim, into the house of Abinadab in Gibea, that is, on the hill; for his house was set upon a high place. For in the sixth of the second book of Samuel we read: "David went with all the people to Baala Juda (which in the fifteenth of Josue is called Kirjath-jearim), to fetch from

[1 Sam. vii. 1.]

Josh. xv.

[1 et omnibus in lege satisfactum, Lat.]

[2 purissimæ carnis, Lat.; of the most holy flesh.]

[3 ac omnis boni, Lat.; omitted: and of every good thing.]

[4 et virtus, Lat.; omitted: and strength.]

[5 in urbes Palæstinorum, Lat.; among the cities of the Philistines. 1 Sam. v.]

thence the ark of God." And presently after; "And they fetched it out of the house of Abinadab that was in Gibea," that is, on the hill. For there was an high place in Kirjath-jearim, wherein Abinadab dwelt. Some other, which take Gabaa for the proper name of the town[6], do say, that the ark was translated from Palestine into Gabaa. But this is sure, the ark was conveyed from the house of Abinadab into the house of Obed-edom, and from thence into the city of David, that is, into Sion. For so is the city [of] David expounded in the eighth chapter of the third book of Kings. [2 Sam. vi. 10, 12. 1 Kings viii. 1.]

In Sion did David pitch a new tabernacle for the ark of God, wherein he did place it, and appointed priests to minister there before the Lord: as it is at large described in the sixteenth chapter of the first book of Chronicles. And yet, by building that new tabernacle, David neglected not the old tabernacle of appointment. For after the time of Heli, and the taking of the ark by the Philistines, it seemeth that it was translated diversely from place to place. Silo verily, wherein it was first placed, was desolate, as is to be seen in the seventy-eighth Psalm and the seventh chapter of Jeremy. Therefore, when Saul did reign, it appeareth to have been pitched in Gilgal, where he offered peace-offerings in sign of thanksgiving unto the Lord for victory against the Ammonites, as is to be seen in the eleventh chapter of the first book of Samuel. In the twenty-first chapter of the same book it is apparent, that the tabernacle was for a time in Nob (a town not very far from Hierusalem, Isaiah x.), where Ahimelech, the priest, gave to David the fresh shew-bread that was taken from the golden table. In the time when David reigned it was erected in Gabaon, a city of the Benjamites: for in the twenty-first of the first of Chronicles thus we read: "The tabernacle of the Lord, which Moses made in the wilderness, and the altar of burnt-offerings, was at that time (when the angel appeared to David with a sword ready drawn) in the hill of Gabaon[7]." In that place was it also in the reign of Salomon, and to that hill did Salomon go to pray to the Lord before the temple was builded. For in the first chapter of the second

The history of the Lord's tabernacle.

Isai. x.

[6 Accordingly, the one and self-same Hebrew word is rendered in our authorised version, in 1 Sam. vii. 1, *in the hill*, and in 2 Sam. vi. 3, *in Gibeah*.]

[7 vel excelso, Lat.; or high place.]

book of Chronicles we find: "And Salomon, with all the congregation, went to the high place that was at Gabaon; for there was the tabernacle of God's appointment, which Moses the servant of the Lord made in the wilderness. But the ark of God had David brought from Kirjath-jearim into the place which David had prepared for it: for he had pitched a tent for it at Hierusalem. Moreover the brasen altar, that Bezaleel the son of Uri had made, was there before the tabernacle of the Lord: and Salomon and the congregation went to visit it." Therefore, whereas we read in the third chapter of the third book of Kings, "Salomon loved the Lord, and walked in the ways of his father David; only he sacrificed and burnt incense in the high places:" that is not spoken in the dispraise, but in the praise, of Salomon, as he that did not at adventures sacrifice in every place, but in the high places, to wit, upon that consecrated altar which was appointed of the Lord, whereof I spake even now before. Other there are which think that Salomon was not simply blamed in these words for offering upon the altar of burnt-offerings (for that was altogether lawful), but because he had till then deferred the building of the temple. But that which goeth before and followeth after do make greatly that those words were spoken in that sense and signification which I did first allege. The same Salomon, when the temple was builded, did command and see that the old ark, with all the instruments belonging thereunto, should be brought by the priests as a precious treasure from Gabaon, and placed in the temple which he had caused to be built for that purpose: the holy scripture bearing witness thereunto and saying; "And they brought the ark of the Lord, and the tabernacle of appointment, and all the holy vessels that were in the tabernacle: the priests and Levites, I say, brought them into the temple"—the third of Kings, eighth chapter, and the second of Chronicles, fifth chapter. And so was the tabernacle of the Lord, which stood four hundred and seventy eight[1] years, abrogated at the last, and instead thereof the temple was erected.

[1 Kings iii. 3.]

[1 Kings viii. 4. 2 Chron. v. 5.]

Of Solomon's temple.

Touching the temple of the Lord, which was prepared by David, but builded and made an end of by Salomon, I need not make many words in the description thereof, because it is in the third of Kings and second of the Chronicles very busily

[1 Kings vi. & 2 Chron. iii. and iv.]

[1 According to Usher, 486 years, viz. from A. C. 1490 to A. C. 1004.]

set down, and painted out at the full. The place, where the temple was afterward builded, is reported to have been shewed to David by the angel of the Lord; and that David did first of all make sacrifice there unto the Lord; and addeth these words: "This is the house of the Lord God, and this altar is for the sacrifice of Israel." As if he should have said: This plat of ground is appointed for the temple; in this piece shall be built the house of the Lord; yea, here shall be offered that only and effectual[2] sacrifice for all men, the very Son of God, Christ Jesus incarnate. For all the interpreters of the holy scriptures agree that the place was at Jerusalem, upon the mountain Moria, where Abraham once would have offered his son Isaac; and that in that appointed or fatal place the temple was erected; and that the hill Golgotha, or Calvary, was not far off, but in the very top of the mountain Moria, which was the place and the holy hill, wherein the holy gospel doth testify that Christ was offered for the sins of all the world; which was prefigured in a type of the ancient sacrifices and other ceremonies belonging to the temple[3]. The use and end of the temple was none other than the use and end of the tabernacle was before.

[1 Chron. xxii. 1.]

Jeroboam therefore and the kings of Israel did sin most grievously, when they forsook the temple to make sacrifices in the high places, in their cathedral churches at Bethel and at Dan, and in other high and pleasant places. The people of Juda with their kings did sin most grievously, either for sacrificing to God in the high places, or else because they did not utterly cut down those high places. For the Lord would, and his will was to be worshipped in one place, which he had chosen unto himself. The plain law touching that matter is extant in the twelfth of Deuteronomy, and is very expressly set down in the seventeenth of Leviticus, in these words following: "Whosoever of the house of Israel shall kill an ox, or a sheep, or a goat, within the host or without the host, (to wit, for a sacrifice unto the Lord; for otherwise they might lawfully kill a beast for their sustenance in any place wheresoever,) and shall not bring it to the door of the tabernacle of

The sin of them that sacrifice in the high places.

[2 aternum efficax, Lat.; everlastingly effectual.]

[3 quem sacrificia et templi et veterum omnia præfigurarunt, Lat.: of whom all the sacrifices both of the temple and of the ancients were a type.]

the congregation, to offer his sacrifice before the dwelling-place of the Lord; blood shall be imputed to that man, as if he had shed blood. Wherefore when the children of Israel bring their offerings, let them bring them to the Lord before the door of the tabernacle of appointment, unto the priest, that he may offer them. And let them no more offer their offerings to devils[1], after whom they have gone a whoring. This shall be an ordinance to them for ever in their generations. And he that doth not this shall be rooted out from among his people." There are in these words three things to be noted: first, that it was not lawful to sacrifice but in that one place only, that was, before the altar of burnt-offerings: secondarily we have to mark, that that commandment was given, to the end that all men should understand that the sacrifice was made to God, to whom the tabernacle did belong: thirdly, that to offer sacrifice out of the place, against God's commandment, was to make sacrifice unto the devil; that the offerer was to be judged as a murderer; and that he was excommunicated by the Lord God, as he that was excluded from the company of God and his holy saints[2]. But whereas Samuel, Helias, and certain other patriarchs, did, by God's sufferance, make sacrifices upon some especial causes in other places, and not before the altar in the tabernacle, they did it by dispensation. They therefore that sacrifice in high places, not to strange gods only, but even to the very true God, did sin first of all by disobedience: for God doth mislike, yea, he curseth, all the worship done unto him, which we ourselves do first invent without the warrantise of his word; it is faithful obedience that pleaseth him best. Secondarily, they sinned by making a schism in the unity of the ecclesiastical body. Thirdly, for despising the mystery of Christ, that was to be offered in the mount of Golgotha; and for not referring the meaning of their sacrifices to Christ, the only truth of all their typical ceremonies. Lastly, they sinned by trusting in their sacrifices, as in well-wrought works, to justification, and by neglecting the worship of God, and changing it into trifles of their own inventions[3].

The temple stood, from the time that Salomon did first build it until the first destruction of it under king Zedekias,

[1 satyris vel dæmonibus, Lat.] [2 Isai. lxvi. Lat.]
[3 cultum peculiarem finxerunt, Lat.]

four hundred and forty years[4]. And from the reparation of it unto the utter overthrow[5] under Vespasian, it stood five hundred and eighty two years[6]. Other there be that do account it otherwise. Thus have I hitherto spoken a little of a great deal concerning the temple.

The signification and ministry of the ark.

Now it remaineth for me to touch and lightly to pass over[7] the holy instruments belonging to the tabernacle and temple of the Lord: among which the ark of the covenant was the chief; which ark was so called, because of the tables of the covenant that were put within it. It was also called the ark of the Lord God of hosts, which dwelleth upon it betwixt the cherubim; and by that means the Lord himself was called by the name "of him that sitteth betwixt the cherubim," because he did from thence give answers unto his servants, and had placed it in the midst of his people to be a sign that his presence was always among them. Touching the stuff whereof, and the form how, the ark was made, I will say nothing here. For the matter and fashion are in their colours very lively painted out in the twenty-fifth chapter of Exodus. Of the meaning, mystery, and use of the ark, I will speak somewhat now. We men lay up in our coffers and chests the treasures that we most set by. And therefore we understand, that in the ark was laid the treasure of the church, and all the substance of which the faithful made most account. We must not therefore seek for them in men, in Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, David, St Mary, John, Peter, or Paul; much less in the Romish indulgentiary[8]; but in him in whom all fulness dwelleth, and in whom all the treasures of God's wisdom and knowledge are heaped up in store; who is not seen here on the earth, but in the *sanctum sanctorum*, in heaven, I say, above, and is called Jesus Christ; whose divinity is figured by the most pure gold, and his humanity by the sittim-wood, that is, of

[Deut. xxxi. 26.]

Arca is an ark or a coffer, and what was laid therein.

[4 According to Usher, 416 years; viz. from A. C. 1004 to A. C. 588.]

[5 ad secundum excidium, Lat.; until the second destruction.]

[6 According to Usher, 585 years; viz. from A. C. 515 to A. D. 70.]

[7 per transennam inspiciamus, Lat.—proverbialis locutio, qua significatur, non propius, neque sigillatim, sed procul, obiter, et summatim inspicere. Facciolati Tot. Lat. Lex. in voc. Erasmi Adag. Chil. p. 364. Hanov. 1617.]

[8 in cista Chananaica ac Romanensi indulgentiaria, Lat.; in the Canaanitish and Romish indulgence-chest.]

cedar, or rather white-thorn: for he took upon him flesh like to our sinful flesh; even the very flesh that we have in all points, saving that it was not sinful[1]. Out of this ark do the faithful fetch all good and necessary things for the use of their life and eternal salvation. For in the ark we read that there was laid the tables of the covenant, the pot of manna, and Aaron's rod that budded. For we heard that in Christ were hidden the jewels of the church. Christ is our wisdom, the word[2] of the Father, the fulfilling of the law; he is just himself, and our righteousness also. In Christ is the heavenly food: for he is the bread of life that came down from heaven, to the end that every one that eateth of it may live eternally. In Christ did the priesthood bud again: it seemed verily, at the death of Christ upon the cross, to have been cut down for growing any more; but at his resurrection it budded again, and he took the everlasting priesthood, that never shall be ended: for even now, as he standeth at the right hand of the Father in heaven, he maketh intercession to him for us. Moreover the ark was compassed with a crown, because Christ our Lord is a king, which delivereth us his faithful servants from all evil, and maketh us the sons of God. Upon the ark we read that there was placed the mercy-seat, which was either the cover of the ark, or else a seat set upon the ark. By it was figured, as the apostles John and Paul interpret it, Christ our Lord, who is the throne of grace, and the propitiation for our sins; not only for ours, but also for the sins of all the world. Out of the propitiatory, or mercy-seat, also were uttered the oracles and answers of God. For the use of the mercy-seat is read in the holy scripture to have been this, that Moses, entering into the tabernacle, did at the mercy-seat receive the answers and commandments of God, which he declared unto the people. And Christ is he by whom our heavenly Father declareth his will to us, and whom alone he hath given us to hear, saying, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear him." Two cherubim have their faces turned toward the mercy-seat, and do as it were look one to another:

Christ his priesthood compared to Aaron's rod.

The mercy-seat.

[Rom. iii. 25. 1 John ii. 2.]

[Exod. xxv. 21, 22.]

[1 nulla in eo peccati spina existente, Lat. omitted: there being in him no thorn of sin. The allusion in this phrase is, of course, to the *white-thorn*, or sittim-wood, mentioned above.]

[2 lex et verbum, Lat.; the law and word.]

whereupon St Peter saith, that "the angels do desire to behold" the Saviour of the world, which is declared in the gospel. The same angels do always serve our Lord and Master, and are ready at his beck, as to him that is Lord over all. Now none did carry the ark of the Lord but the priests alone[3]. For they only which are anointed by the Holy Ghost, and endued with true faith, do receive Christ, and are made partakers of his heavenly gifts. Neither must we wink at and let pass the note that is given in the fourth and fifth chapters of the first book of Samuel, where it is said, that the Israelites, for abusing the ark and turning it to another use than that for which it was given, and for attributing unto it more than the scripture willed, were slain by the Philistines, and that the ark was carried into captivity; to the end that all men might learn thereby not to attribute more to the sacraments and mysteries of God than is convenient, and not to apply them to any other use than that for which the Lord hath ordained them. For the ark was not ordained to the end it should be taken for God, although it bare the name of God[4]; neither was it made to the end that they should look for grace and help to proceed from it, as we read that they did: but it was given them as a token, that God, their confederate[5], was in the midst of his people, so long as they did keep the tables of the covenant that were closed within the ark, and did cleave to God alone, at whose hands they should look for all good things through Christ, his Son, which was prefigured by the ark.

[1 Pet. i. 12.]

The use and abuse of the ark.

Next to the *adytum*, or *sanctum sanctorum*, in the *sanctum*, did stand the golden table, the matter and fashion whereof is declared in the twenty-fifth chapter of Exodus. Upon the table we men do set our meat and sustenance; by the table we are refreshed; and at the table we forget our cares, and

The golden table.

Exod. xxv.

[3 sacerdotes Domini, Lat.; the priests of the Lord.]

[4 ... disertis verbis appellatur (Arca) Dominus exercituum. Nam 2 Samuelis, 6 cap. scriptura testatur, et ait: Et surgens David abiit una cum toto populo, ut transferret arcam Dei, super quam invocatum est nomen, nomen Domini exercituum insidentis cherubim super eam. Hoc enim Hebraico idiomate tantundem valet, ac si tu dicas: cui nomen inditum est ut appelletur, Jehovah, sive Deus exercituum, habitans super cherubim.—Bulling. de Episcop. Instit. et funct. cap. 6. fol. 88. Tig. 1538.]

[5 utpote confœderatum, Lat.]

are merry and jocund. Therefore the table can be none other but Christ our Lord, and christian doctrine: for Christ is the sustenance of our life; he is the joy and mirth of the faithful. The table was of gold without, and all wood within, because Christ, our table[1], is both God and man. The table (which is the type of christian doctrine[2]) is set forth in the church: it is not therefore to be sought at Athens, among[3] the sophisters, nor among the Gymnosophists of India[4], nor in the Jewish synagogues. Upon the table are set twelve new loaves, divided into two parts. For the bread of life, which is new and sweet[5], doth feed and fill both the Jews and the Gentiles. Moreover, that bread was holy and not profane, and none might eat it but the priests alone. In like manner the faithful only are worthy of Christ, the bread of life, and they that believe receive it only. The loaves were called by the name of shew-bread, or the bread of sight[6]; whereby is meant, that the bread of life (which is christian doctrine[7]) should always be in sight before our eyes. And as those loaves were to be set always before the Lord in the sight of all men; so must not the doctrine of Christ be privily hidden, but openly shewed unto all people. A vessel with frankincense was set upon the shew-bread, because they that eat the heavenly bread do offer to God prayers and thanksgivings without intermission, which is to God as sweet as frankincense[8]. In the twenty-fourth of Leviticus it is at large declared in what sort the shew-bread is prepared.

[Lev. xxiv. 9. Matt. xii. 4.]

The shew-bread.

The golden candlestick is in the *sanctum*, and standeth before the veil on the one side, or over against the table. We have the description of it in the twenty-fifth chapter of Exodus. Candles are set up in our common houses to give light to all them that are in the house. And Christ our Lord is come[9] a light into the world, that whosoever follow-

The golden candlestick.

Exod. xxv.

[1 cibus noster, Lat.; our food.]

[2 which—doctrine, not in the original.]

[3 aut apud, Lat.; or among.]

[4 See Vol. I. p. 102. note 3.]

[5 et exsaturans, Lat. omitted; and satisfying.]

[6 panes propositionis, sive facierum, Lat. In Hebr. called *bread of faces*, or *of presence*. Ainsworth on Exod. xxv. 30.]

[7 which—doctrine, not in the original.]

[8 which—frankincense, not in the original.]

[9 datus est, Lat.; has been given. John viii. 12.]

eth him should get the light of life. Out of Christ do proceed, and upon Christ do stick, other noses of candlesticks[10], which have their light from Christ, the chief candlestick. For the Lord did say unto the apostles, "Ye are the light of the world." So then Christ is the shank, or shaft, of the candlestick, upon which shank many snuffs or noses do stick, which hold the light up to the church[11]: for what light soever is in the ministers of the church, they have it all of Christ, who is the head of light, and very light itself. The candlestick is wholly all of gold. And Christ is very God indeed, the light and wisdom of the Father: and the ministers of Christ must be sincere and throughly snuffed[12] from all affections of the flesh: and to that end belongeth the use of the snuffers that did pertain unto the candlestick.

In the midst, betwixt the table and the candlestick, before the veil, in the *sanctum*, did stand the golden altar of incense, which is exactly painted out in the thirtieth chapter of Exodus. That altar was ordained for two uses. For first, there was offered upon it every day incense or perfume, which it was not lawful to offer or prepare to any other God or creature. That was done twice every day, at morning and at evening. Zacharias, the father of John Baptist[13], was in that ministery, when he saw the angel, and for his unbelief's sake was made dumb for a season. Secondarily, incense was offered upon that altar after a certain solemn manner once in a year, that was, at the feast of cleansing, as is declared in the sixteenth chapter of Leviticus.

The incense altar. Exod. xxx.

[Luke i. 9—20.]

Lev. xvi.

Now by incense, or perfume, is to be understood the prayers of the faithful; as David witnesseth where he saith: "Let my prayer be set forth in thy sight as the incense; and let the lifting up of my hands be an evening sacrifice." Now there was but one incense altar alone. Whosoever builded any more, he was condemned of blasphemous wickedness. By that only altar is figured Christ our Lord, both God and man, the mediator and intercessor betwixt God and man; by whom all the saints do offer all their prayers to

[Psal. cxli. 2.]

[10 cannæ et luminaria, Lat.]

[11 cannæ in suprema parte habentes lumina, Lat.; reed-like branches having lights at their extremities.]

[12 repurgatos, Lat.]

[13 divi Baptistæ, Lat.]

God, their Lord and heavenly Father. They therefore build many altars, which choose to themselves creatures to be their intercessors, by whose mediation they desire to obtain that which they lack at the hands of God. In the end of the thirtieth chapter it is expressly said: "Whosoever shall make like incense to that, to smell thereto, shall perish from among his people." Therefore through Christ alone the faithful church of Christ doth offer her prayers to God the Father. This altar, whereof we speak, was bound about with a crown of gold: for Christ, our Lord and altar, is a very king and priest, and weareth the crown of glory[1]. Now we must pray at morning and evening, that is, continually and very earnestly[2]. And we must always pray in and through the name of Christ. And Christ is he alone, through whom God hath been pleased with the prayers of them that have prayed in the morning, that is, at the beginning of the world; and is at this day pleased with them that pray to him at evening, that is, in the end and these last days of the world. They therefore sinned most grievously against the Lord, that offered incense in the high places everywhere: for as they were rebellious and disobedient to God, preferring their own inventions before the laws of God, which they neglected; so did they despise the mystery of Christ, the only mediator, in departing from that only altar.

The altar of burnt-offerings.

In the court, or *atrium*, did stand another altar, which was called the brasen altar, or the altar of burnt-offerings, which is finely described in the twenty-seventh of Exodus. Of this sort also there was but this one. For it was not lawful for any religious man to sacrifice in any other place, saving in the holy place where this altar was, unless it were by some singular dispensation. Therefore, when the Reubenites with their confederates had built an altar by the banks of Jordan, and the fame thereof was brought to the ears of the other tribes of Israel, they did all agree with one consent, that the crime was to be punished with open war. Whereby we may again gather the greatness of their fault, which, neglecting that altar, did offer sacrifice in the high places: of which I also spake before. Now that only and catholic

[Josh. xxii. 10, &c.]

[1 Nam Christus Dominus noster verus est rex et pontifex, Lat.; and—glory, not in the original.]

[2 perpetuo et jugiter, Lat.]

altar of ours is Jesus Christ, who offered himself a living sacrifice for us to God. Neither is there any sacrifice in all the world that can cleanse sin, but that alone. Neither do any sacrifices of the faithful please the Father, but those that are by faith offered upon the altar, Jesus Christ. For Christ doth sanctify us; and, being sanctified, we do by him offer the sacrifice that he doth well accept of. This have I taken out of the apostle's doctrine in the thirteenth to the Hebrews, and the twelfth to the Romans.

The last of the holy vessels was the brasen laver, which was placed in the *atrium*, betwixt the veil of the *sanctum* and the altar of burnt-offerings. It is described in the thirtieth chapter of Exodus. In it was contained the water wherewith the priests, that ministered before the Lord, did wash themselves. By that laver was Christ signified, which is the washing of the faithful. And by it was meant, that holy things were not to be handled with unwashed hands and feet. They wash themselves, that by the Holy Ghost are purified, and by the grace of God are made fit to the ministry of religion: but he is in danger of death, that is not a partaker of the grace of life.

The brasen laver.

[Exod. xl. 30.]

Beside these, there are also reckoned other instruments belonging to the tabernacle: but these in a manner are the chief. I thought not good, by beating out busily every particularity, to rehearse unto you every small thing, lest peradventure by too long a treatise I should be too tedious unto your patience.

Now the same holy vessels, that were in the tabernacle, were in the temple also; saving that in Salomon's temple there was a far more goodly shew and pomp than in the tabernacle: for none other cause, undoubtedly, but that the mysteries of Christ and of the church should increase every day more and more to the sight of the world. Christ, the true Salomon, and king of peace and tranquillity, the very eternal felicity itself, hath raised up in this world to himself a church, which stretcheth to the ends of the world; of which the prophets have spoken very largely, Zachary especially, and the famous prophet Nathan, second of Samuel, chapter seven. Thus much hitherto of the holy place.

After the holy place in the sacred ceremonies, the next to be handled is the holy time. For as to the outward reli-

The holy time.

gion a certain place was given, so to the same also an appointed time was assigned. And holy days are to be employed upon holy actions. For actions are either those which we call handy works[1], invented for to get victuals, clothing, and other things necessary for the use of our bodies; or else they are holy or religious, which are done for the exercise of outward religion. We must not consume all our time in handy works and profane business; neither can we bestow all times upon outward religion. But those actions are not without time: for every action is contained in time. Therefore God hath divided the time into sundry parts for sundry actions: so that he will have some working days, to serve for handy actions; and other holy days, for the exercise of outward religion. Not that the working days are not holy and dedicated to the Lord, (for he doth challenge all days and times to himself, and will at all seasons be worshipped in heart;) but for because the holy days are singularly, and, as it were, more precisely, consecrated to the outward worship of God, than the working days are.

What an holy day is.

Therefore the festival or holy day, which by God's appointment is holy to the Lord, was kept for the devout exercising of God's outward worship. Therefore those days are not holy, nor those feasts lawful, which are not held to the one and only God, Jehovah: neither are those holy days lawful, in which the lawful service of God is not lawfully exercised. And for those causes the sabbaths and festival-days of the Israelites are in the prophets many times rejected, because they were unlawfully solemnized, without pure faith and sincere affections.

To what end the holy days were ordained.

Now all holy days had one common name, and were called sabbaths, feasts[2], holy days[3], meetings and assemblies. All holy days, what name soever they were called by, were ordained to God alone, not to creatures, not for surfeiting and wanton chambering. All holy days were invented for the health, profit, and recreation of mankind: for holy days are no burden, but the easing of our burdens. Profane works, I confess, are profitable, but ease is also necessary: for without rest labour cannot continue. The Lord's will

[1 et quasi prophanæ, Lat. omitted: and, as it were, profane.]

[2 item festa, Lat.; also feasts.]

[3 dies stati et sancti, Lat.; omitted.]

therefore is, to give man a time of recreation, and biddeth his servants to be merry on the holy days in holiness and modesty; so that their ease may be an honest recreation, and not reproachful sensuality. Again, ease of itself is not good, but in respect of another thing it is good. God biddeth to cease from work, but yet he setteth us on work another way; he willeth us to cease from bodily labour, and begin to work in heart and mind, and wholly apply ourselves to his holy service. And therefore it is needful to have holy assemblies, the reading of the holy scriptures, public prayers, sacrifices (for it is prescribed in the twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth chapters of the book of Numbers what they ought to offer at every feast and holy day), the celebration of the sacraments, and whatsoever else the Lord hath commanded to be done at festival-days and solemn seasons. For that one thing is here required especially, which Mary found, as she sat at the feet of Jesus, and heard his word. Moreover, all feasts generally do contain the memory, and put us in the remembrance, of notable things; every feast according to the name. The sabbath did put them in mind of God's good benefit in creating the world for the behoof and profit of us men. It was also, as Moses witnesseth, Exodus thirty-first, a sign of the true sanctification, which God alone bestoweth upon the people that call upon his name. The other holy days did beat into them the memory of the other benefits that God had shewed them, and had (as I will anon declare) their several significations.

[Luke x. 39, 42.]

The Sabbath.

Now there was a measure and certain number of holy days, which were distinguished, and very wisely ordered: first into seven-nights[4], whereof every one had in it one sabbath, that was the seventh day: then into months; for the first day of every month was holy to the Lord, and was called the feast of the new moon[5]: and lastly, they were divided into yearly feasts, which returned once every year at an appointed season: of that sort of feasts there were three in number, the passover, pentecost, and the feast of tabernacles[6]. Besides these, there were also other made holy days, which God had not commanded, but were received by the church

A measure and certain number in holy days.

[4 septimanas, Lat.] [5 vel calendas, Lat.]

[6 The Latin is, et septimi mensis; and (the feast) of the seventh month.]

to the glory of God and remembrance of his great benefits. For the feast of lots, which they called Purim, and was brought in by Mardocheus, was received of all the church, as is to be seen in the ninth of Esther. The feast of dedication was ordained by Judas Maccabeus, with the consent of all the church, in memory that the temple was restored and the people delivered from the tyranny of king Antiochus, as is to be read in the fourth chapter of the first book of Maccabees: and Christ our Lord did honour that feast of dedication with an holy sermon. Moreover, there were solemn fastings appointed to be kept among the people of God: as in the fifth month, wherein the city was set on fire; in the seventh month, wherein Godolias was slain; and in the tenth month, wherein Hierusalem was besieged: of which fastings the prophet Zachary speaketh in his seventh and eighth chapters: and in the time of Esther a fast was ordained in the month Adar, for a remembrance of the calamity which was wrought, or rather purposed, against the Jews by the wicked Aman.

[John x. 22, &c.]

Solemn fastings.

[Esth. ix. 20—32.]

The Sabbath.

Of the sabbath, and the signification thereof, I spake a little above, and in another place also, where I expounded the ten commandments[1]. The sabbath was observed by a natural[2] and divine law ever from the first creation of the world, and is the chief of all other holy days. For it was not then first ordained by Moses, when the ten commandments were given by God from heaven: for the keeping of the sabbath was received of the saints[3] immediately from the beginning of the world. And therefore we read that the Lord in the commandments did say: "Remember that thou keep holy the sabbath-day." And before the law was given, there is evident mention made of the sabbath in the sixteenth of Exodus, and the second of Genesis.

The new moon.

The second kind of holy days was the new moons[4], which were solemnized in the beginning of every month. Mention is made of them in the x. and xxviii. chapters of the book of Numbers, 1 Samuel xx., Psalm lxxxi., Ezekiel xlvi., and 2 Chronicles ii. That solemnization is reported to have been

[1 See Vol. I. Dec. 2. Serm. IV.] [2 quasi naturali, Lat.]

[3 a sanctis, Lat.]

[4 Secundum genus Sabbati sive feriarum sunt calendæ vel neomeniæ, id est novilunia. Lat.]

ordained in remembrance of the light created; to admonish the people not to ascribe the months to Janus or Mars, or any other[5] planet, but to the one and holy[6] God, the maker, governor, and ruler of all things and seasons. Moreover, it was a sign of the reparation or renewing of faithful minds by the heavenly illumination: that we Christians may truly and in deed solemnize the new moon, when, being brought forth of darkness into light by the Son of God, we walk as becometh the children of light, and reject the works of the devil and darkness.

The three year's meetings or assemblies of the Jews.

The third kind of holy days doth contain the feasts that return once every year; of which I find to be three: the passover, the pentecost, and the feast of tabernacles[7]. Now the Lord's will was, that in these three feasts there should be general assemblies and solemn meetings in the holy place, to wit, at the tabernacle, and, after the tabernacle, at Salomon's temple. For thus saith Moses in Deuteronomy: "Thrice in the year shall every male appear before the Lord thy God in the place which he hath chosen; that is, in the feast of sweet bread, in the feast of weeks, and in the feast of tabernacles: neither shall he appear empty in the sight of the Lord; every one according to the gift of his hand[8], and according to the blessing of the Lord thy God, which he hath given thee:" that is to say, every man shall offer to the Lord according as he can, and according to the measure of riches which the Lord hath given him. Now those three solemn feasts were divided into three several months, most apt to journey and to travel in. In the spring time was the passover holden, when first the corn began to spindle[9], or turn into ears. About harvest, when the first work belonging to husbandry was done and finished, they kept the feast of pentecost. And lastly, when all their fruits were in, they went up to the feast of tabernacles. And so many went to it as possibly could go. Some are of opinion, that they, which had once in the year appeared before the Lord, were dispensed withal, and might lawfully tarry at home at the other two feast-times. But I think verily that religious men did [Deut. xvi. 16, 17.]

[5 divo vel, Lat.; god or.] [6 soli, Lat.; only, ed. 1577.]
[7 festum mensis septimi, Lat.; the feast of the seventh month.]
[8 So the marg. of Auth. Ver.]
[9 to shoot into a long small stalk. Johnson's Dict.]

[Exod. xxxiv. 24.] seldom times use such dispensations. The Lord in one place promiseth that he will defend and keep the bounds and substance of them that travel to seek his name. Howsoever those dispensations were admitted, yet this is most sure, as appeareth by all histories, that at those feasts were very great assemblies[1].

Passover. Now the feast of passover was called by many names[2], but especially it was termed the feast of sweet, or unleavened, bread: for by the space of seven whole days they fed upon unleavened bread. The ceremonies of that feast, with the sacrifices that were to be offered thereat, are at large described in the twelfth of Exodus, and twenty-third of Leviticus. In that feast was eaten the paschal lamb, in no other place but at the tabernacle, or afterward at the temple, Deut. xvi., for a remembrance of that notable deliverance of Israel and all the faithful out of the Egyptian servitude and slavery. In that feast God would have the first-fruits of their land offered unto him, in token of the manna wherewith he fed their fathers. Moreover, that feast did signify that passing over and delivering of the faithful, which in the shedding of of blood was accomplished by Christ. Whereupon the apostle said, "Christ our passover is offered up." 1 Cor. v. But of the passover I will speak more in my next sermon.

Pentecost. [Exod. xxxiv. 22.] The pentecost was also called the feast of weeks, and new corn; for at that feast was set forth shew-bread made of the new year's corn[3]. They reckoned from the next day after the passover seven weeks, that is, fifty days; and upon the fiftieth day they did celebrate the memory of the law of God, revealed and given by God himself from heaven unto his people Israel. For the fiftieth day of their departure out of Egypt we read that the Lord himself spake to them at the mount Sinai, and gave to them the law of the ten commandments: so that the pentecost was a memorial, that, as then, the church was illuminated with the very word of God. And that old pentecost was a figure of the day wherein Christ the Lord, being the end of the law, did send the Holy Ghost upon his disciples, and did illuminate his spouse the church[4].

[1 conciones fuisse longe frequentissimas, Lat.]

[2 See below, page 182.]

[3 two loaves, Levit. xxiii. 16, 17.]

[4 universam ecclesiam, Lat.—his spouse, not in Lat.]

The ceremonies belonging to this feast are expressed by Moses in the twenty-third chapter of Leviticus.

The feast of the seventh month, or of the tabernacles. [Deut. xvi. 13—15.]

They kept the feast of tabernacles in the seventh month, as Moses commanded in Deuteronomy, saying: "When thou hast gathered in the crop of thy land and vineyards[5], then shalt thou keep the feast of tabernacles by the space of seven days: and thou shalt be merry in thy holy day, thou, and thy son, and thy daughter, thy manservant, and thy maidservant, the Levite, the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow, that are within thy gates. Seven days shalt thou keep holy unto the Lord thy God, in the place which the Lord hath chosen to himself; because the Lord thy God hath given thee happy success in all thy fruits, and in all the work of thy hands. See therefore that thou rejoice." Moreover, the manner of this feast, solemnly celebrated, is to be read in the eighth chapter of Nehemias, where, whosoever looketh, he shall find it described at the full.

The feast of trumpets.

Now this feast of tabernacles of the seventh month was divided into four solemnities[6]. For the first day of the month was the feast of trumpets, or sounding of trumpets; which was a memorial of those troublesome wars, which the people did happily achieve, by the help and aid of God, against the Amalekites[7], and[8] all other their heathen enemies. And by that feast was signified, that the whole life of man upon the earth is a continual warfare.

The feast of cleansing.

Upon the tenth day of the same month was held the feast of cleansing. In that feast the priest, in a solemn form of words, began to confess aloud the people's sins; and every man, quietly following in the same words, did recite them privately to himself, and in his mind did quietly speak unto the Lord[9]. To those confessions was added the ceremony used with the scape-goat, and the sacrifice, which is at large set down in the sixteenth chapter of Leviticus. And so were

[5 de area tua et de torculari tuo, Lat. and Marg. of Auth. Ver.; thy floor and thy winepress.]

[6 Bullinger here recounts the chief religious anniversaries of the seventh month, Tisri, in which also the feast of tabernacles occurred: cohærent enim inter se festa quatuor, as he says in his Comment. in Joan. Lib. IV. fol. 78. Tigur. 1556.]

[7 primo quidem, Lat.; in the first instance.]

[8 deinde vero, Lat.; and afterwards.]

[9 Levit. xvi. 21. See Lightfoot's Temple Service, chap. xv.]

the sins of the people cleansed: which was a type of the cleansing that should be through Christ; who, being once offered, did with the only sacrifice of his body take away the sins of all the world. It did also contain the doctrine of true repentance.

The feast of tabernacles.

Upon the fifteenth day began the feast of tabernacles. For by the space of seven whole days, that is, from the fifteenth to the twenty-second, the people dwelt in tabernacles. The end of this ceremony the scripture doth declare to be, that the posterity should know that the Lord did place their forefathers in tabernacles: whereby they were put in mind of the good that he did to them while they were in the wilderness. For they were kept forty years in the wilderness, so that they lacked neither victuals nor clothing. And by that feast we are warned that the life of this world is but as a stage, and that we have no abiding place to stay for ever, but are still looking for the world to come; as the apostle Paul taught us, 2 Cor. v., Heb. xiii.

[Lev. xxiii. 42, 43.]

The congregation.

The fourth feast of this month was held upon the twenty-second day, and was called the congregation, or assembly. Upon that day was gathered the offering and stipend given to the ministry, for reparations of the temple, for the cost of sacrifices, and maintenance of the ministry[1]. It is thought that in that feast was sung the eighty-fourth Psalm: "How pleasant are thy tabernacles," &c., and certain other Psalms called *Torculares Psalmi*[2], which they did use. Thus much hitherto concerning the feasts that fall out once in every year.

The year of jubilee.

Here also I think it necessary to make mention of the year of jubilee. Now this year of jubilee was every fiftieth as it fell by course, which is at large described, with all the ceremonies belonging thereunto, in the twenty-fifth of Leviticus. It was declared to all the people in the land of promise by the sound of a trumpet made of a ram's horn, with a proclamation of freedom to all them that were wrapped in servitude or bondage.

In that jubilee was contained very evidently the mystery

[1 For this statement Bullinger refers, in his Comment. in Joan. Lib. IV. fol. 78, to Lev. xxiii. and Numb. xxix.]

[2 Psal. viii., LXXX., and LXXXIII., as they are numbered in the Vulgate, bear the title, Pro torcularibus, *for the presses* (Douay Bible): the title in our Auth. Ver. is *upon Gittith.*]

of Christ our Lord, who declared to us the meaning of that ceremony out of the sixty-first chapter of the prophecy of Esay, in St Luke's Gospel, chap. iv., where he saith, that he is he that doth indeed proclaim the jubilee, the true freedom and acceptable year of the Lord. Now he hath pronounced remission and freedom to all the faithful, not with a trumpet made of a ram's horn, but with the gospel. For by the mercy of God in the merit of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, all debts or sins are forgiven to all the faithful that live upon the face of all the earth, upon condition that we, whose sins are forgiven, should likewise forgive the trespasses of them that offend us. And in Christ, verily, we have[3] the true and everlasting rest, that shall never fail us. By Christ we have return granted us to our possession or country[4], from whence we were fallen, that is, to heaven, the place of the faithful.

Thus much have I said of the holy time or holy days, as briefly as possibly I could. The rest is at the full to be seen in the twenty-third of Exodus, Levit. xxiii., Numb. xxviii. and xxix., Deut. xvi. That which is behind touching this argument (I mean, touching the Jewish ceremonies) I will by God's leave make an end of in the next sermon. Now let us make our humble prayers and supplications unto God, &c.

OF THE SACRAMENTS OF THE JEWS; OF THEIR SUNDRY SORTS OF SACRIFICES, AND CERTAIN OTHER THINGS PERTAINING TO THEIR CEREMONIAL LAW.

THE SIXTH SERMON.

In my last sermon I spake of the holy persons, I mean, the ministers of God's religion, the Levitical priests; and the place and time assigned to God's service. There remaineth now for us to consider the holy thing which those holy persons did exercise in the holy time and place; I mean, the very worship and holy rites so ordained, taught, and prescribed by God himself, that all men might easily understand

[3 vocationem et, Lat., omitted; our calling and.]

[4 veterem nimirum, ad terram viventium, Lat.; that is, the ancient country, to the land of the living:—'that is—faithful,' is the translator's addition.]

how to do service, and what honour to give unto the Lord. In this treatise we have first to consider the Jewish sacraments, and then their sacrifices.

Two sacraments of the synagogue.

The ancient church of the saints had two especial sacraments; circumcision, and the paschal lamb. Of both which I will speak severally, and agreeably to the word of God, according to the grace which the Lord shall vouchsafe to give unto me.

Circumcision, what it is.

Now circumcision was the holy action, whereby the flesh of the foreskin was cut away for a sign of the covenant that God made with men. Or, to describe it more largely, circumcision was a mark in the privy members of men, betokening the eternal covenant of God; and was ordained by God himself, to testify his good-will toward them that were circumcised, to warn them of regeneration and cleanness, and to make a difference betwixt the confederates of God and other people or nations.

The original or beginning of circumcision.

[John vii. 22.]

The author, therefore, of circumcision is God himself: the beginning of it is of great antiquity. For the Lord himself in the gospel saith: "Circumcision began not at Moses, but at the patriarchs." Moses verily did renew, or repair, the law or custom of circumcision; but Abraham, the renowned friend of God, was the first that was circumcised, in the ninetieth year[1] of his age, and in the very same day that God, making a covenant with him, did first ordain the use of circumcision. For he added circumcision as a seal to the league which he made with Abraham and with his seed for ever. The place is extant in the seventeenth chapter of Genesis. It was first ordained in the 2046 year after the creation of the world, 390 years after the deluge, when Sem, the son of Noah, was 487 years old. So that Moses is found to have been born 320 years after the first institution of circumcision: whereby it appeareth, that circumcision was in use among the patriarchs 400 years before the law was given to the Israelites by the hand of Moses[2].

[1 Nonagesimum nonum, Lat.; ninety years old and nine. Gen. xvii. 24.]

[2 According to Abp. Usher, these dates are as follows: Circumcision was instituted A.M. 2107, after the deluge 450 years, when Shem was 549 years old, before Moses' birth 326 years, and before the giving of the law 406 years. But see Vol. I. page 42, note; and The Old Faith, in works of Coverdale, Parker Soc. ed. p. 36.]

Now for because circumcision is added as a sign or seal to the league that was made betwixt God and Abraham, I must briefly, and by a short digression, touch the manner or order of that covenant. God, in making of leagues, as he doth in all things else, applieth himself to our capacities, and imitateth the order which men use in making confederacies. Men do by leagues, as by most sure and stedfast bonds, bind themselves to the society and fellowship of one body or people; in which society, to the end they may be the safer, and live more quietly from the wrongs and injuries of all other nations, they do mutually hazard both lives and livings, the one in defence of the other's liberty. In these leagues they do precisely express what they be that make the confederacy, upon what conditions, and how far the covenant shall extend. And therefore, when God's mind was to declare the favour and good-will that he bare to mankind, and to make us men partakers wholly of himself and his goodness, by pouring himself out upon us, to our great good and profit, it pleased him to make a league or covenant with mankind. Now he did not first begin the league with Abraham, but did renew to him the covenant that he had made a great while before. For he did first of all make it with Adam, the first father of us all, immediately upon his transgression, when he received him, silly wretch[3], into his favour again, and promised his only-begotten Son, in whom he would be reconciled to the world, and through whom he would wholly bestow himself upon us, by making us partakers of all his good and heavenly blessings, and by binding us unto himself in faith and due obedience. This ancient league, made first with Adam, he did afterward renew to Noah, and after that again with the blessed patriarch Abraham. And again, after the space of four hundred years, it was renewed under Moses at the mount Sinai, where the conditions of the league were at large written in the two tables, and many ceremonies added thereunto. But most excellently of all, most clearly and evidently, did our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ himself[4] shew forth that league; who, wiping away all the ceremonies, types, figures, and shadows, brought in instead of them the very truth, and did most absolutely fulfil and finish the old league,

Of the league of God and man.

[3 jam profugum, Lat.; now become an outcast.]
[4 tandem, Lat.; at length.]

bringing all the principles of our salvation and true godliness into a brief summary, which, for the renewing and fulfilling of all things, and for the abrogation of the old ceremonies, he called the new league, or new testament. In that testament Christ alone is preached, the perfectness and fulness of all things; in it there is nothing more desired than faith and charity; and in it is granted holy and wonderful liberty unto the godly: of which I will speak at another time. But now I return to the league which was renewed with Abraham.

Between whom the league was made.

We are expressly taught in Genesis, who they were that made the league; that is, the living, eternal, and omnipotent God, who is the chief maker, preserver, and governor of all things; and Abraham with all his seed, that is, with all the faithful, of what nation or country soever they be. For so doth the Apostle expound the seed of Abraham, especially in [Gal. iii. 29.] his epistle to the Galatians, where he saith, "If ye be Christ's, then are ye the seed of Abraham, and heirs by promise."

The time, how long this league should last.

The time, how long this league should endure, is eternal, and without end or term of time. For although, in the renewings or declarations of the league, many things were added which afterward did vanish away, especially when Christ was come in the flesh; yet notwithstanding, in the substantial and chiefest points, ye can find nothing altered or changed. For God is always the God of his people: he doth always demand and require of them faithful obedience; as may most evidently be perceived in the new Testament.

The conditions of the league or covenant.

For there are two points, or especial conditions, contained in this league: the first whereof declareth what God doth promise, and what he will do for his confederates; I mean, what we may look for at his hands: the second comprehendeth the duty of man, which he doth owe to God, his confederate and sovereign prince. Therefore God for his part saith, "I will be thy God, and Saddai[1], that is, thy fulness and sufficiency; I will, I say, be thy God, and the God of thy seed after thee." God of himself is wholly sufficient to most absolute perfectness and blessedness; neither needeth he the help of any other, since whatsoever is in any place wheresoever, it is both of him, and hath abiding by him; God alone sufficeth man, and he alone is the giver of all that men desire, or doth belong to perfect felicity. And therefore

God is all in all to his confederates.

[1 See Vol. I. p. 215, note 6.]

Saturnus (peradventure by occasion of the word Saddai) took his name among the heathen, and signifieth to suffice, or satisfy. For he alone is able to satisfy or suffice all, who is himself very fulness and sufficiency itself. But now God sheweth, by two arguments, that he will be the sufficiency, or all in all, to the seed of Abraham. For first he saith: "To thy seed will I give the land of Canaan." In which promise he comprehendeth all earthly and bodily benefits; to wit, great wealth, felicity, tranquillity, abundance of all things, health, glory, notable victories, and whatsoever else pertaineth to the preservation and temporal happiness of mankind. Now how he did perform this promise to the seed of Abraham, the holy scripture doth declare; by that means teaching, that the very true God was the God of Abraham's seed, as he had promised to their father Abraham. Secondarily, he promiseth that Seed wherein all the nations of the earth were to be blessed; to wit, Christ the Saviour, whom he had promised to Adam many years before. To bless is to enrich with all spiritual benediction: wherein he comprehendeth all the spiritual gifts of God; the forgiveness of sins, the reviving of life, and glory everlasting. To bless also is to take away a curse; so that this promise of God's to Abraham is all one with that which he made to Adam, saying; "The seed of the woman shall tread down the serpent's head." For the head of the old dragon is nothing else but the power and kingdom of Satan. His power is the curse, sin, and death. Therefore, when his head is crushed or trodden down, the curse is taken away; and instead of the curse succeedeth a blessing. By this, I say, he doth declare that he will be the God of Abraham and of his seed.

[Gen. xv. 18, & xvii. 8.]

[Gen. xii 18.]

[Gen. iii. 15.]

What is required of men in the league.

The second condition of the league betwixt God and man prescribeth to man what he must do, and how he must behave himself toward God, his confederate and sovereign prince. "Walk before me," saith God to man, "and be upright." Now they walk before God, which do direct all their life, words, and works, according to the will of God. His will is that we should be upright. That uprightness is gotten by faith, hope, and charity; in which three are contained all the offices of saints, which are the friends and confederates of the Lord. Therefore this latter condition of the league doth teach the confederates what to do, and how to behave them-

[Gen. xvii. 1.]

selves before the Lord; to wit, to take him for their God, to stick to him alone, who is their only all in all, to call upon him alone, to worship him alone, and, through the Messiah, to look for sanctification and life everlasting. These were the conditions of the covenant; to which the number of ceremonies were not added in Abraham's time, which afterward were given to the Israelites under the leading of their captain Moses.

Circumcision was the sign or seal annexed to the league.

To this confederacy the Lord did add circumcision as a sign or seal, to confirm it withal. Seals are put to writings for an effectual force and confirmation's sake. The tables, or writings, do contain and give evidence of all the points of the whole league. Circumcision, therefore, is added to the league instead of the writing[1], and also of the seal; and for that cause circumcision is called the league itself[2]: even as the writings or letters of covenants among us are commonly called the very covenant[3], when as in deed they are nothing else but the evidences of the league, which contain in writing all the order of the confederacy, and confirm it with a seal. It is very usual that the signs do take the names of the things which they do signify; so that it is no marvel though circumcision be called the league, when as in deed the league is not the cutting of the skin, but the communion of fellowship which we have with God. In the seventeenth of Genesis thus saith the Lord touching this sign of outward circumcision: "This is my covenant, which ye shall keep betwixt me and you, and thy seed after thee; every male shall be circumcised among you. Ye shall circumcise the flesh of your foreskin, and it shall be for a sign of the covenant betwixt me and you," &c. Lo here circumcision, in these words of the Lord's, is first named the covenant; and afterwards, for exposition's sake, it is called the sign of the covenant. In the same sense doth St Stephen call it a testament, in the seventh chapter of the Acts, when he meant that it was the sign or seal of the testament.

Gen. xvii.

Acts vii.

Moreover, the manner of circumcision is declared: "Ye

[1 tabularum, Lat.]

[2 See Gen. xvii. 9, 13. *My covenant*, that is, *the sign* of my covenant, or testament, as is explained in verse 11. Ainsworth on Gen. xvii. 10.]

[3 der bund, ipsum inquam fœdus, Lat.]

shall," saith God, "circumcise the flesh of your foreskin[4]." The cutting or taking away of this flesh was called circumcision. But now, whose office it was to cut that skin away, we find not expressed. It appeareth that the most honourable in every house or family, I mean, the first-begotten, or ancient of every household, did circumcise, before the law; which office was turned to the priests, when once the law was given[5]. It is a singular example, and no more to be found like unto it, that Zipporah, the wife of Moses, did circumcise her son. Exodus, chap. iv.

The manner and order of circumcision. [Gen. xvii. 11.

Now also the time of circumcision is set down, to wit, the eighth day, when the new-born child began to be of a little more strength. And we gather out of the fifth chapter of the book of Josue, that they did circumcise them not with knives of iron, but of stone: for in that chapter the Lord doth in express words command to circumcise the sons of Israel with knives of stone[6]. But it is manifest by the rites of the sacraments, that God doth alter nothing in the ceremonies of the sacraments: and therefore we conjecture and gather, that Abraham used none other but knives of stone, especially since we read that Zippora, Moses his wife, did circumcise her son with a stone.

The rest of the Jewish trifles, which they sow abroad touching the ceremonies of circumcision, I do of purpose here let pass: for they are utterly unworthy to be heard, and have no mystery contained in them. But the knife of stone is of force in the exposition of the mystery of circumcision: for circumcision had a mystery and a most certain meaning hidden within it.

The mystery and meaning of circumcision.

For, first, circumcision did signify that the whole nature of man is unclean and corrupt; and therefore that all men have need of cutting and regeneration. And for that cause that cutting was made in the member wherewith man is begotten[7]. For we are all begotten and born the sons of wrath in original sin. Neither doth any man deliver us from that damnation, but he alone that is without sin, to wit, the blessed Seed, Jesus Christ our Lord, who was conceived by

[4 A sentence of the original and of the translation is here omitted.]

[5 See above, p. 143.]

[6 verse 2, sharp knives, Auth. Ver.; marg. knives of flints.]

[7 Cf. Augustin. Expos. in Evang. Joan. Tract. xxx.]

the Holy Ghost, and born of the virgin Mary; who with the shedding of his blood (which was prefigured in the blood shed in circumcision) doth cleanse us from sin, and make us heirs of everlasting life. And now this circumcision maketh sorely against them that deny original sin; and putteth them to their shifts, that attribute justification and salvation to our own strength and virtue. For if we were clean, if we by our own power could get salvation, what needed our fathers to be cut in that sort? The things that are cut off are either unpure, or else superfluous. But God made nothing unpure or superfluous. Now he made the flesh of the foreskin. If the flesh of the foreskin had been evil, God had not made man with the flesh of the foreskin. The skin, therefore, is not evil of itself, nor yet superfluous: but the cutting of the foreskin doth rather serve to teach us to understand, that by our birth and nature we are corrupt, and that we cannot be cleansed of that corruption but by the knife of stone. And for that cause, verily, was circumcision given in that member, and in none other. I will anon add another cause out of Lactantius, why it was given in none other part of all the body.

Moreover, circumcision did signify and testify that God Almighty, of his mere grace and goodness, is joined with an indissoluble bond of covenant unto us men, whom his will is first to sanctify, then to justify[1], and lastly to enrich with all heavenly treasures through Christ, our Lord and reconciler. For that was the meaning of the stony knife; because Christ, the blessed Seed, is the rock of stone out of which do flow most pure and cleansing waters; and he by his Spirit doth cut from us whatsoever things do hinder the mutual league and amity betwixt God and us: he also doth give and increase in us both hope and charity in faith, so that we may be knit and joined to God in life everlasting, which is the blessed and happy life indeed.

Deut. xxx. Now here it is expedient to hear the testimonies of the law and the apostles. In the thirtieth of Deuteronomy Moses saith: "The Lord thy God shall circumcise thy heart, and the heart of thy seed, that thou mayest love the Lord thy God." Now the outward and visible cutting was a sign of this inward circumcision. And Paul also, speaking of

[1 quos velit sanctificatos justificare, Lat.]

Abraham, saith: "And he received the sign of circumcision, as the seal of the righteousness of faith which he had being yet uncircumcised; that he should be the father of all them that believe, though they were not circumcised; that righteousness might be imputed to them also," &c. Lo here, Abraham's circumcision was a sign that God by his grace had justified Abraham; which justification he received by faith before his circumcision: which is an argument, that they which believe, though they be not circumcised, are nevertheless justified with faithful Abraham; and again, that the Jews, which are circumcised, are[2] justified of God by faith. And for that cause was circumcision given in the very body of man, that he might bear in his body the league of God, and be thereby admonished that he is justified by grace through faith. [Rom. iv. 11.]

Whereby we gather also, that the grace of God, and the justification of the godly, is not tied to the sign: for if it had, then had not Abraham been justified before his circumcision, but even in his circumcision. Furthermore, if it had been so, then the Lord, whose will is to have mankind saved, would not have given commandment to have them circumcised upon the eighth day: for many children died before the eighth day, and never came to circumcision; and yet they were not damned. To which we may add that Sara, Rebecca, Rahel, Jochabeth, and Mary, Moses' sister, with innumerable more matrons and holy virgins, could not be circumcised; and yet they were saved by the grace of God through faith in the Messiah that was to come. The grace of God, therefore, was not tied to the sacrament of circumcision: but yet it was not despised and neglected of the holy saints of the old church, but used to the end for which it was ordained, that is, to be a testimony and a seal of free justification in Christ[3], who circumciseth us spiritually without hands by the working of the Holy Ghost. The grace of God is not tied to circumcision. Coloss. ii.

Furthermore, God by the outward and visible sign did gather into one church them which were circumcised; in which number those which he had chosen before[4] he did join to himself with the bond of his Spirit. For St Paul, for the By circumcision the circumcised are gathered into one body.

[2 sciant se, Lat.; may know that they are.]
[3 venturo, Lat.; who was to come.]
[4 ex quibus electos, Lat.]

very same cause, did call the people of one religion the circumcision, as is evident by the fifteenth chapter to the Romans, and the third to the Philippians. Therefore by circumcision God did separate his people from the unbelieving nations. Whereupon it came, that to be called uncircumcised was as great reproach among them, as to be called dog is now-a-days among us: for an uncircumcised person was reputed for an unclean and profane man, and for such an one as had no part in God nor his covenants.

1 Sam. xvii. Acts xi.

Circumcision putteth a man in mind of his duty.

Finally, circumcision did put the circumcised in mind of their duty all their life long; to wit, that every man should think that he had taken upon him to profess God, and to bear in his body the sacrament of the Lord. For that is the cause why the Israelites were named, or had their names given them, in their circumcision: for it is evident in Luke, that John Baptist and Jesus our Saviour had their names given them at their circumcision; even as also the first circumcised at his circumcision was called Abraham, whose name before was said to be Abram.

[Luke i. 59. & ii. 21.]

[Gen. xvii. 5.]

It did admonish the circumcised of his duty, forsomuch as he had given his name unto the Lord, his confederate, to be enrolled in the register of God among the names of them that give themselves unto the Lord: wherefore he ought, by covenant and duty, to frame his life, not after his own lust and pleasure[1], but according to the will of God, to whom he did betake himself. For the condition of the covenant was, that the circumcised should not defile themselves with idolatry and strange religions; that they should not pollute with unclean living the bodies and minds that were hallowed to the Lord; but that they, persevering in true faith, should ensue godliness, shew the works of repentance, and be obedient to God in all things. For thus saith Moses in the tenth of Deuteronomy: "Circumcise the foreskin of your hearts, and harden not your necks any longer." To which words the prophet Jeremy alludeth in his fourth chapter, saying: "Be ye circumcised to the Lord, and cut away the foreskin of your heart." And the martyr St Stephen, rebuking the unbelieving Jews, saith: "Ye stiff-necked, and of uncircumcised heart and ears, ye always resist the Holy Ghost." Very rightly, therefore, doth the holy apostle Paul, in his Epistle to the Romans, the second chapter,

Jer. iv.

[Acts vii. 51.]

[1 aut aliorum voluntate, Lat., omitted; or the will of others.]

declare that there are two sorts of circumcision: the one of the letter, in the flesh, the outward circumcision, that is made with hands; the other in the heart, of the Spirit, the inward circumcision, which is made by the means of the Holy Ghost. The circumcision of the heart God doth well like of in those that be his; but that in the flesh he doth utterly mislike of, if, as the flesh is, the heart be not circumcised. The liking and misliking of these two circumcisions is in that which went before so plainly already declared, that I need not to stick any longer upon it.

Two circumcisions, one of the spirit, the other of the letter.

And here I think it not amiss, before I make an end of circumcision, to rehearse unto you, dearly beloved, the words of the ancient writer Lactantius, Lib. Instit. IV. chap. 17. where he speaketh of circumcision in this manner: "The meaning of circumcision was, that we should make bare our breasts; to wit, that we should live with a simple and plain dealing heart; because that part of the body, which is circumcised, is partly like to a heart, and an object of shame[2]: and the cause why God commanded to make it bare was, that by that sign he might admonish us not to have a covered heart, that is, that we should not cover within the secrets of our conscience any crime whereof we ought to be ashamed. And this is the circumcision of the heart, whereof the prophets speak, which God hath translated from the mortal flesh to the immortal soul. For the Lord being wholly set and fully minded, according to his eternal goodness, to have a care for our life and safeguard, did set repentance before our eyes for us to follow, as a way to bring us thereunto: so that, if we make bare our hearts, that is, if by confession of our sins we satisfy the Lord, we should obtain pardon, which is denied to the proud and those that conceal their faults by God, who beholdeth not the face as man doth, but searcheth the secrets of the breast[3]." Thus much hitherto hath that ancient writer

Lactantius touching circumcision.

[2 substituted for another term; et pudenda, Lat.]

[3 Hujus secundæ circumcisionis figura erat, (illa carnis circumcisio) significans, nudandum esse pectus, id est, aperto et simplici corde oportere nos vivere; quoniam pars illa corporis, quæ circumciditur, habet quandam similitudinem cordis, et est pudenda. Ob hanc causam Deus nudari eam jussit; ut hoc argumento nos admoneret, ne involutum pectus haberemus, id est, ne quod pudendum facinus intra conscientiæ secreta velemus. Hæc est cordis circumcisio, de qua prophetæ loquuntur; quam Deus a carne mortali ad animam transtulit,

of the church, Lactantius Firmianus, declared unto us touching the mystery of circumcision.

The sum of circumcision.

Now all this, which hitherto I have said touching the meaning and mystery of circumcision, was set forth, as in a picture, to be seen of all men's eyes, so often as circumcision was solemnized in the church. There was the league, as it were, renewed, which God did make with men. There was the grace of God, his sanctification, and our corruption, declared: therein did Christ, the rock of stone, appear, who with his Spirit doth cut and wash away all spots of the church. Moreover, the worshippers of God did learn by that sign, and so by all the holy ceremony, that they, being in one celestial[1] body, ought to do their endeavour by pureness of living to win the favour of God, their confederate; because by the visible circumcision there was, after a sort, an open confession made of the true religion, of free consent to the true religion, and of a binding by promise unto the same. He therefore that did despise or unadvisedly neglect that holy ceremony was sharply punished, as may be gathered by the seventeenth of Genesis, and the fourth chapter of Exodus. And so much hitherto concerning circumcision.

Of the paschal lamb.

There followeth now the second sacrament of the ancient church, I mean, the paschal[2] lamb. It is an Hebrew word, not signifying a passion, as it should seem if it were derived according to the Greek etymology[3]; but it signifieth a skipping, a leaping, or a passing over: for the Hebrew signifieth to leap or pass over[4]. The cause of this word Moses sheweth in the law, where he saith: "The Lord shall go over to strike the Egyptians; and when he shall see the blood upon the upper post, and the two side posts of the door, the Lord will

[Exod. xii. 23.]

quæ sola mansura est. Volens enim vitæ ac saluti nostræ pro æterna sua pietate consulere, pœnitentiam nobis in illa circumcisione proposuit, ut si cor nudaverimus, id est, si peccata nostra confessi satis Deo fecerimus, veniam consequamur; quæ contumacibus et admissa sua celantibus denegatur ab eo, qui non faciem, sicut homo, sed intima et arcana pectoris intuetur.—Lactant. Instit. Lib. IV. cap. 17. Lugd. Bat. 1660, p. 406.]

[1 ecclesiastico, Lat.; ecclesiastical, ed. 1577.]

[2 Pascha, Lat.]

[3 Eam (i. e. vocem *πάσχα*) quidam patrum a voce *πάσχειν pati* derivarunt. Schleusner. Lex. in voc.]

[4 פָּסַח *Passed, stood, over* for defence. Lee's Hebr. Lex. in voc.]

pass over that door, and will not suffer the destroyer to come within your houses." This sacrament is known also and called by other names. For it is called a sign, a remembrance, a solemnity, an holy assembly[5], the feast of the Lord, a worship, an observation, an oblation, and a sacrifice. But whereas that ceremony is called a passing over, that is not done without a trope. For the passing over was the very benefit, wherein the angel of the Lord did pass over the Jews, leave their houses untouched, and save their lives; but for because the paschal lamb was a memorial and a renewing of that benefit, therefore it took the name of the benefit: even as I admonished you before[6], that it is usual in sacraments for the signs to be called by the names of the things that they signify, because of the likeness and mutual proportion that is betwixt them.

What the passover was.

Let us see now what the passover was, and what kind of ceremony did belong unto it. The passover was an holy action, ordained by God, in the killing and eating of a lamb; partly to the end that the church might keep in memory the benefit which God did for them in the land of Egypt, [7]to be a testimony of God's good will toward the faithful, to be a type[8] of Christ, and partly[9] also to gather all the partakers thereof into the fellowship of one body, and to put them in mind to be thankful and innocent.

The first author of the passover, and the time when it first began.

This sacrament was first ordained by God himself, and not by man. For Moses delivered to the children of Israel whatsoever he received at the Lord's hand: as it is to be seen at large in the twelfth chapter of Exodus. And he instituted that ceremony even at that very time when he brought the Israelites from out of Egypt. Now since this ceremony came first from God, it followeth consequently, that all the passovers which followed, even until that passover which the Lord did hold with his disciples a little before his death, were holy and divine actions. To flesh and worldly wisdom many points, I may say, all the parts, of this sacrament do seem to be merely absurd and altogether needless; but faith, which looketh up to God, the author of this sacrament, hath a great respect unto, and reverenceth greatly, all the mysteries contained

[5 *πανήγυρις*, in Lat.] [6 p. 176.]
[7 deinde, Lat.; next.]
[8 typum quoque, Lat.; to be also a type.] [9 denique, Lat.]

therein[1]. For even as God is the chief and most absolute wisdom, so are all[2] his ordinances most absolute and passing profitable.

Here now is noted the time when this sacrament was first delivered to the church of Israel; to wit, in the four hundreth and thirtieth year (counting from the promise made to Abraham, or from the time that he departed from his country first), which was the 2447th year from the beginning of the world, 791 years after the general flood[3]. The time is also appointed when the passover should be holden, to wit, every year, in the month Nisan, which taketh part of our March and part of April. Moreover, the very day is named, that is, the fourteenth of the month, beginning their account at spring time's equinoctial. For on the tenth day they chose the lamb that should be eaten, and on the fourteenth day they killed it. There is also set down the hour of the day when it should be slaughtered: that was, about eventide[4], to wit, betwixt three and five of the clock in the afternoon, according to the course of our dials; and, as the Jews were wont to reckon the hours of the day, it was to be killed betwixt nine and eleven o'clock. And in that killing of the lamb at eventide did this meaning lie hid, that Christ should be slain in the latter days of the world; yea, the very hour and moment, wherein Christ should die, was therein foretold: for he gave up the ghost about the ninth hour. Whereupon St Peter saith, that the prophets did search at what moment, or minute of time, the Spirit of Christ, which was in them, did signify that Christ should come and suffer[5].

The Equinoctial is, when the day and night is both of one length, and cometh twice in a year, to wit, the 8th of April, and the 8th of October.

The Jews began to reckon from one to twelve, as we begin to reckon from seven in the morning till six at night; and so it was, that our three o'clock was nine o'clock to them, and our five, eleven to them.

The ninth hour of the Jews is three o'clock in the afternoon to us.

[1 omnia, Lat.; all things in it.]

[2 omnia et singula, Lat; all and every one of.]

[3 According to Abp. Usher the Passover was instituted, as Bullinger also says, 430 years after Abraham's call, Gen. xii., but A.M. 2513, and 857 years after the deluge. But see Bullinger's Treatise, The Old Faith, in Coverdale's Fruitful Lessons, &c. p. 36.]

[4 inter vesperas, Lat.; between the two evenings. Marg. Auth. Ver. Exod. xii. 6.]

[5 1 Pet. i. 11. Bullinger has adopted the translation, not of the Vulgate, but of Erasmus:—scrutantes ad quem aut cujusmodi temporis articulum significaret qui in illis erat Spiritus Christi: where also Erasmus notes; Nec est tempus, quod Græci vocant χρόνον, sed καιρὸν, quod articulum vertimus: est enim certius quiddam quam tempus. Calvin similarly understands the apostle's phrase: prophetas scrutatos

The place appointed for the eating of the passover.

Furthermore, there was a certain appointed place assigned to this sacrament[6]. In Egypt, verily, they did eat it by companies here and there in several houses. But when they were once come into the land of promise, it was not lawful to hold passover in any place but at the tabernacle of appointment; and after that, at the the temple in Hierusalem. Being divided therefore into several houses at Hierusalem, they did eat it by companies, as is to be seen in the twenty-second chapter of St Luke's gospel. And that was a type, that Christ, which was to be offered but once upon the mount of Calvary, should be effectual for ever to cleanse the sins of all his people.

Luke xxii.

Who were the guests at the eating of the lamb.

There was also appointed, who they should be that should hold the passover; to wit, the whole circumcised congregation of Israel, being assembled by houses and families in so great companies as were sufficient to eat a lamb[7]. For as Christ is the Saviour of us all, so all sinners (for we all are sinners) are the cause why Christ our Lord was offered upon the altar of the cross.

The manner or rite of eating the passover.

Moreover, there is great diligence[8] used in describing the manner of killing and eating the lamb. First, they chose to themselves this lamb from among other lambs and kids: the fifth day after they cut the throat thereof, and saved[9] the blood in a platter, which with a bush of hyssop, made like a holy-water stick[10], they sprinkled upon the two sides and upper posts of the door. The lamb itself they did eat publicly, not boiled with water, but roasted with fire; and that whole also, I mean, both head and feet, and purtenance too; and with it they did eat lettuce or sour herbs, and unleavened bread. And while they were at it, they stood about it with their loins girded, with shoes on their feet, and staves in their hands. They did eat it in haste: they neither brake nor cast a bone

esse quo temporis articulo advenerit Christi regnum. Comment. in loc. cit.]

[6 huic sacro, Lat.]

[7 Exod. xii. 43—49.—φρατρία περὶ ἑκάστην γίνεται θυσίαν, (τοῦ Πάσχα) οὐκ ἔλασσον ἀνδρῶν δέκα—πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ σὺν εἴκοσιν ἀθροίζονται. Joseph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. VI. cap. 9. § 3.]

[8 multa fide et diligentia, Lat.; great faithfulness and diligence.]

[9 excipiebant, Lat.; received.]

[10 aspergillo hysopi, Lat.]

of it unto the dogs, but burnt the bones with fire. From evening until morning no man did set one foot out of doors.

The end whereto this ceremony tended.

All these ceremonies had their ends whereunto they tended, contained great mysteries, and bare a very evident signification of things past, things present, and things to come. They did also join the whole congregation, or Jewish church, into one body and profession of one religion; and did also warn all those that did eat of the lamb to be thankful to God, and zealous in religion: as I will by parts touch, and teach you as briefly as I can.

The Lord's benefit was kept in memory by the eating of the passover.

For, first of all, the Lord's will was to keep in memory, and as it were for ever to prolong the remembrance of that great benefit, which he did once for his people of Israel[1], in preserving marvellously his chosen flock, when he slew in one night all the first-born of the Egyptians, and the next day after led his elect from out of Egypt, where they had a long time sustained great misery in bondage. This benefit he would not have only to be preached by word of mouth (for it is certainly sure, that in that feast were made most effectual sermons touching God's benefits and grace shewed to their fathers); but would have them also laid before their eyes by an holy action and ceremony, as it were by a looking-glass and lively picture, even as though their deed were newly in doing again before their faces. For the visible action did, after a sort, make a sermon to their eyes and other senses. Wherefore Moses, when he did interpret the ceremony and holy action, did say: "When your children shall say unto you, What meaneth this worship of yours? ye shall say unto them, This sacrifice is the passing over of the Lord, who passed over the houses of the children of Israel in Egypt, when he slew the Egyptians, and delivered our houses."

[Exod. xii. 26, 27.]

The testimony of God's good will towards his people.

But this ceremony was the signification of a thing already past: and therefore it should have little availed that age of man which followed, to celebrate a benefit which did nothing at all belong unto them, unless the Lord had applied it to every age and season. God therefore would have this to be a testimony to the posterity of his favour, goodness, and perpetual assistance[2]; to put them in mind, that he was not only the God of their fathers and ancestors, but that he would be

[1 in Ægypto, Lat.; in Egypt.]
[2 liberationis perpetuæ, Lat.]

the God of all the posterity of the Israelites; that he would bear with and spare them for the blood of Christ; and finally, that he both would and could defend them from all evil, and bestow upon them all good and fatherly blessings. For in the 136th Psalm we read: "O praise the Lord, for he is good, because his mercy endureth for ever: which struck the first-born of the Egyptians; for his mercy endureth for ever: with a strong hand and a stretched out arm; for his mercy endureth for ever[3]." Besides the remembrance, therefore, of the benefit which God did for their fathers, the posterity did by the use of that ceremony stir up their faith, to believe that God would have mercy on and do good for them according to his natural goodness, even as he did to their fathers before them. And by that means this ceremony was no small exercise of faith in the children of Israel.

The lamb was a type of Christ, of his passion and redemption.

Furthermore, those ceremonies did contain the mysteries, that were to come, of Christ, the Saviour of us all. For in them was prefigured what Christ should be, what he should do for the world, by what means the faithful should be partakers with him, and how they should behave themselves before him. For among many other beasts there was none thought to be more fit for this sacrament than a lamb; not so much for the signification of simplicity and patience that was in Christ, like to the quietness of a lamb, as for because a lamb was the daily sacrifice that was offered to the Lord[4]. For Paul saith: "Christ our paschal Lamb is offered up." [1 Cor. v. 7.] And a lamb by the law was every morning and evening offered up in sacrifice. [Exod. xxix. 38, 39.] For Christ is the Lamb that was killed since the beginning of the world; of whom John Baptist testified, saying, "Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world[5]." [Rev. xiii. 8.] And for because we all did go astray like sheep, every one after his own way, the Son of God came down unto us, and became a sheep, of our very substance and nature. But yet he[6] was sound and without spot, without sin and wickedness; conceived by the Holy Ghost, and born of the virgin Mary. He was a male,

[3 verses 1, 10, 12. The eleventh verse is also quoted in the Latin.]
[4 quam quod victima est, Lat.]
[5 John i. 29. peccatum mundi, Lat.]
[6 hic noster, Lat.]

and of a year old; that is to say, strong, and all one, the same to-day that he was yesterday, and the same for ever, to wit, the Saviour of all the world[1]. The ceremonial lamb was chosen and taken from among other lambs and goats: for Christ descended lineally of righteous men and sinners; as is to be seen in the first chapter of Matthew's Gospel. Likewise, for the shedding of the lamb's blood God did bear with the whole church of the Israelites: for the blood of Christ (whereof[2] the lamb's blood was a type) was to be shed, that by it[3] all the faithful might be cleansed, and that by the shedding of that the anger of God the Father might be appeased, and he reconciled again unto the church[4]. The blood was sprinkled upon the upper and two side-posts of the house with a bunch of hyssop. Hyssop, verily, is a base herb and of small account; and the preaching of the Gospel seemeth to be foolish, vile, and of no value: and yet by the preaching of the gospel the blood of Christ unto the remission of sins must be sprinkled[5] on us which are the house of God. Now we receive the Lamb to life, when we do eat, that is, when we believe that Christ did suffer for us: for Christ is eaten by faith, as it is at large declared[6] in the sixth chapter of St John. The lamb is dressed with fire, and not with water: it is not eaten raw, but roasted. For Christ was not man alone, but very God also, the true burnt-offering. He is able fully to absolve us, so that there needs no addition of ours: all our additions are mere water, and altogether cold. Moreover, the whole Lamb was to be eaten; the head, the feet, and purtenance: for unless we believe that Christ is very God and very man, and that he is our wisdom and righteousness, we do not eat him wholly. They eat not the head, which deny that Christ is God: they eat not the feet, which do deny that Christ is man: they eat not the purtenance, which do not acknowledge the gifts that are in Christ, which he doth communicate unto the faithful, to wit, righteousness, wisdom, sanctification, redemption, and life. The bones of the Lamb were neither broken nor thrown to the dogs, but burnt with fire: for in Christ there

[1 universi orbis, Lat.] [2 whereof—a type, not in Lat.]
[3 ejus sanguine, Lat.; by his blood.]
[4 toti ecclesiæ, Lat.] [5 aspergi sive prædicari, Lat.]
[6 ipse fuse exponit, Lat.; he himself at large declares.]

was not one bone broken; as the apostle John beareth witness in the nineteenth chapter of his gospel. Herein also lieth hid another[7] mystery. For although the Son of God did suffer[8] in his humanity, yet in his divinity he remained still without any passion. Now the things in Christ, which we cannot attain unto by reason of the excellency of his Godhead, we do[9] earnestly wish for and greatly desire. Moreover, Christ is the meat of the reasonable and faithful soul, and is not to be cast to dogs and unbelieving miscreants[10]. The Lamb was to be eaten in haste, without delay: for Christ must be eaten by faith, out of hand, without foading off[11], and that too with a sharp desire and eager appetite. With the lamb they were commanded to eat sour herbs and unleavened bread: for the faithful must repent them of their life[12] ill-spent, and wholly betake themselves to a purer trade of living. For here followeth[13] the manner how they ought to behave themselves toward their Redeemer. They stood to eat the lamb, having their[14] loins girded, with shoes on their feet, and staves in their hands. Such was the habit of wayfaring men, or pilgrims. We therefore must so behave ourselves in this present world, as doth become pilgrims and strangers, which do contemn this world, and look for another country. In their journey, therefore, let them give themselves to temperate modesty; let their feet be shod with the preaching of[15] the gospel of peace; let them wholly lean upon the staff of God's aid and succour; and let them depart with as much haste as may be from the bondage and corruption of this naughty world[16].

John xix.

This very same ceremony was, as it were, a confession of the true religion, and as a cognisance, whereby the people of God were known from other people and nations. Therefore all the Israelites were gathered together into one church and society: wherein, by celebrating of the passover, they

The badge and confession of faith.

[7 præterea, Lat.]
[8 in eo quod pati potuit, Lat. omitted; in that which could suffer.]
[9 merito, Lat. omitted; we do justly.]
[10 impiis, Lat.]
[11 See p. 38, note 3.]
[12 præteritæ, Lat.; past.]
[13 copiosius, Lat. omitted; more at length.]
[14 renibus vel, Lat.; their reins or.]
[15 Eph. vi. 15.—*the preaching of*, not in the original.]
[16 hujus seculi, Lat.]

did profess that they were the redeemed, the libertines[1], and the people of the living God. For thereunto belongeth the commandment which charged them that no stranger should eat of the lamb, but that the circumcised alone should be partakers of it; that it should not be divided into many parts; that it should be eaten nowhere but in one place alone, and that too by companies of all the Israelites[2]; and lastly, that no man should once set a foot out of doors until the next morning. By which thing it is given us to understand, that neither Christ, nor our salvation, is to be found without the church, in the sects or schisms of wicked heretics. Christ, the Lamb of God, doth gather all the faithful into one church, wherein he keepeth them, and lastly doth save them.

At the tabernacle first, and afterward at the temple.

Last of all, this ceremony did put God's people in mind of their duty, of thankfulness especially[3], of the study of godliness and harmless innocence. They therefore did give thanks to God for these and all other his benefits; they praised his name; and did utterly abstain from all leavened bread. For ye shall find nothing so severely forbidden in this ceremony as the eating of leavened bread. "Whosoever eateth leavened bread," saith the Lord, "his soul shall perish from among the congregation of Israel, whether he be a stranger, or an Israelite born." The same saying is afterward oftentimes repeated, and throughly beaten into their brains. Now the apostle Paul, whose cunning and learning was much in the law of Moses, expounding what was meant by the leavened bread, doth say: "Therefore let us keep the feast, not in the old leaven, nor in the leaven of malice and unrighteousness[4], but in unleavened bread, that is, in sincerity and truth[5]." Thus much hitherto touching the eating of the paschal lamb.

The paschal lamb did warn the communicants of their duties.

[Exod. xii. 19.]

To these sacraments were also added sacrifices of sundry sorts and many kinds: which were not first invented and taught by Moses, but were taken up and used immediately after the world was created. For Cain and Abel offered burnt sacrifices to God the maker of the world: the one, of

Of sacrifices, and their first beginnings.

[1 libertos, Lat.; freed men.] [2 ab universo Israele, Lat.]

[3 gratitudinis præsertim et, Lat.; especially of thankfulness, and, &c.]

[4 versutiæ, Lat.]

[5 1 Cor. v. 8, Erasmus' rendering.]

the fruits of the earth; and the other, of the cattle that was in his flock. Likewise Seth, Noah, Sem, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, with all the other patriarchs, are known[6] to have sacrificed unto the Lord. Now since the heathenish sacrifices of the Gentiles, as the very heathen writers themselves did testify, were partly like unto, and in many points all one with, the Jewish sacrifices; it is not unlikely but that the grand patriarchs[7] of the Gentiles did teach every one his own nation the manner of sacrificing, which they had learned of their forefathers, Sem, Cham, Japhet, and of the holy patriarch Noah himself. But it is undoubtedly certain, that the holy fathers did bring in nothing of their own invention, nor add any thing to the sacrifices more than they had received and learned of God, who is the author of all goodness; although Moses did more precisely distinguish and certainly order the sorts, the kinds, and differences betwixt sacrifice and sacrifice: and yet whatsoever he did, that did he at the Lord's appointment. God instructed Moses in all that he did. For the book of Leviticus, wherein are specially described all the kinds of sacrifices, doth immediately after the very beginning testify, that Moses was called by God, and that he learned of the Lord all the ceremonies of the sacrifices which he commanded the Israelites to keep. And in the seventh chapter of the book of Numbers we read: "And when Moses came into the tabernacle of appointment, he heard the voice of God speaking unto him out of the mercy-seat." Num. vii.

Now, as I was about to say, there were divers sacrifices sundrily differing in many points among themselves, and yet having many things common and general one with another. It was general to all sacrifices, not to be offered in any other but one appointed place alone. It was general to all sacrifices, that they ought of duty to be offered by faith, according as they were taught by the word of God. It was general to all sacrifices, to be made according to the Lord's commandment, with holy fire, and not with strange fire, or fire profanely kindled. Nadab and Abihu, the sons of Aaron, were slain for nothing else but for because they used profane or strange fire in sacrificing to the Lord. For when the Israelites, or Levites, did first of all sacrifice, as the Lord had commanded them, in the tabernacle of [Lev. ix. 24.]

Sacrifices have some things common, and some things peculiar.

[6 creduntur, Lat.] [7 genearchas, Lat.]

appointment, then did God, by sending fire from heaven, give a token that he did like of that manner of sacrifice. Whereupon in the sixth of Leviticus the priests are charged to maintain or keep the holy fire always burning, first in the tabernacle, and then in the temple: which thing it is manifest that the heathen did imitate, in commanding the vestal virgins at Rome always to keep the holy fire burning. By this perpetual fire is meant the perpetual working of the Holy Ghost in the church of Christ; which must be kept quick and stirred up in the hearts of the faithful with fervent prayers, with the sincere doctrine of the Lord, and with the right use of the holy sacraments. It was also general to all sacrifices, that in them neither wild nor unclean beasts were offered to the Lord. Moreover, this general rule of sacrifices is given by Moses in the twenty-second chapter of Leviticus, saying: "Let no deformity be in the thing that thou shalt offer: if it be blind, or lame, or maimed; if it have pushes[1], or scabs, or tetter[2], ye shall not offer it unto the Lord, neither shall ye put ought of it upon his altar." Verily, if any man had brought a deformed oblation unto the Lord, he shewed himself plainly to be a contemner, and utterly unthankful toward his maker. And therefore the Lord in Malachi crieth out, and saith: "When ye bring the blind for sacrifice, do ye not sin? and when ye bring the lame and sick, do ye not sin? Offer it now, I pray thee, to thy prince or captain; will he be content with it? or will he accept thy person? saith the Lord of hosts. And so I say, My name is in contempt and of no estimation among you." The just and true God, therefore, doth at all times require truth, liberality, sincerity, and integrity in them that worship him; and on the other side, he abhoreth and utterly detesteth uncleanliness, lying, and hypocrisy.

The vestal virgins were nuns consecrated to the goddess Vesta.

[Mal. i. 8.]

There are certain other things also, which be generally common to all sorts of sacrifices: but I will not at this time make particular rehearsal of every several jot or minute. But what peculiarities every sundry sacrifice hath, it will evidently appear in the exposition of their sundry sorts: which I will now speak of in order as they lie.

[1 push, a pimple, an eruption. Johnson's Dict.]
[2 tetter, a scab; a scurf; a ringworm. Ibid.]

First of all, I will expound to you that kind of sacrifice which in the scripture is called Holocaustum[3]. That sacrifice was wholly consumed with fire, so that nothing but the skin or hide of the beast was left for the priest. The word is derived of the Greek: for it is called *holocaustum*, as one should say ὅλον καυστὸν, that is, wholly burnt or consumed with fire[4]. This sacrifice was of three kinds: I mean, it was made after three sorts, to wit, with greater, with little, and with less, living creatures; namely, with an ox, a bullock, or a calf; or, if any man's ability were not sufficient to stretch to that expense, then did he offer a lamb, or a kid: and yet again, if he could not offer that by reason of his poverty, it was lawful for him to sacrifice birds, not geese, or cocks, or other unclean fowls, but turtles, and doves, and such kind of clean birds. [Lev. i.]

Holocaustum, the burnt-offering.

Now the manner of making this burnt sacrifice was in this order. The beast, that was to be offered, was placed at the one side of the altar; upon which the priest did presently lay his hands, and cut the throat of it. The blood was saved, to be sprinkled round about the altar; the skin was flayed from the slaughtered beast, and that alone was all the fees that fell to the portion or share of the priest: the legs were chopped off, and washed together with the purtenance. Immediately after, a fire was made upon the altar, whereupon was laid the whole sacrifice, to wit, the head, the body, the legs, and the purtenance, and were altogether burnt upon the altar before the Lord. But if so be it happened that a turtle or a dove were offered for a sacrifice, then did the priest with his finger wreath about and break the neck thereof, and the blood was let drop about the sides of the altar. The feathers also were cast at the one side of the altar into a place where ashes lay; the wings were jointed; and last of all, the whole body was burnt upon the altar. This was the manner of the sacrifice, or oblation, which they did commonly call a burnt-offering: the signification whereof was most cheerful and pleasant to them which were persuaded, that by burnt-offering was prefigured the very Son of God, to be incarnate of the unspotted virgin, and to be

[3 עוֹלָה.]

[4 The corresponding Hebrew name is כָּלִיל. Deut. xxxiii. 10. Ps. li. 19.]

sacrificed once for the cleansing of all the sins of the whole world. For they in the glass of that sacrifice did behold the cross and passion of the Lord, which took our sins upon himself[1], and, being slain, did shed his blood for the remission of sins, offering himself wholly to God the Father in the fire of charity and heavenly zeal. The very same Christ is the turtle or pigeon.

Moreover, beside these ceremonies in the burnt sacrifice, it was required that no burnt sacrifice of beasts should at any time be made without that kind of offering which they called *minha*[2]. That oblation was an handful of corn, or of meal, or else of crusty bread sodden in a caldron, or a bowed[3] piece of bread (which we call a cracknel) baked in an oven or in a frying-pan, which was burnt with oil and frankincense upon the altar of burnt sacrifices. And Christ, verily, is the bread [Heb. ix. 14.] of life, who by the eternal Spirit, as saith the apostle, did offer himself to God the Father for us, to be the meat and preservation of our life.

The daily sacrifice.

In the number of burnt sacrifices are reckoned the daily sacrifices that were offered every morning and every evening, and the sacrifices of the anointing or consecrating of priests. Of the daily sacrifice a large exposition is made in the twenty-ninth of Exodus and the sixth chapter of Leviticus. It was called the daily offering, because every morning and evening two lambs were offered, to wit, one in the morning, and another at the evening. In these lambs was Christ most manifestly prefigured; who is that Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world; whose virtue is always effectual and of power to take away the sins of the faithful. For the Lamb[4] was killed from the beginning of the world; he was once slain upon the cross: but yet his merit and effectual power endureth still, and doth absolve all them that are delivered from their sins.

[1 Omitted: "for to this pertaineth the laying on of hands, which was a sign of communion." Huc enim pertinet maxime manuum impositio, quæ communionis erat symbolum." P.]

[2 מִנְחָה, a gift to God in sacrifice,—generally unbloody, and consisting of various fruits, flour, oil, &c. opp. to זֶבַח. Lee's Heb. Lex. in voc.]

[3 bowed: bent.]

[4 that Lamb, ed. 1577; agnus ille, Lat.]

Now the sacrifices of consecrating, I mean, of the priests, of the tabernacle, and of all the vessels or instruments belonging to the holy ministery, are in many points all one with the burnt-offerings, and in some things differing from them: as is fully to be seen in the twenty-ninth of Exodus and the eighth of Leviticus. And Christ our Lord did first begin the priesthood by his passion, and after that hallowed all the faithful to be priests unto himself.

The meat-offering.

The second kind of sacrifices was the oblation, which they called *minha;* a gift, reward, or sacrifice of a wheaten cake; and by another name was called a meat-offering[5]. This sacrifice was of the fruits of the earth, and was not offered always after one sort: for there are reckoned three kinds of this sacrifice. For there was offered either parched wheat, sticking in the ears; or wheat out of the ears, or else clean meal, unbaked; or, at leastwise, meal made up into bread; which bread again was made three sundry ways, and in three sundry fashions. For either it was baked in an oven, or furnace; or else sod in a pot, or a caldron; or else fried in a frying-pan, like unto cakes. To these there was added, as sauce to the sacrifice, salt, oil, and frankincense. Honey and leaven were by a general rule utterly barred from all sorts of sacrifices. For cakes made with honey were never allowed of, nor admitted in their offerings: yet in the feast of thanksgiving they did eat leavened bread. Therefore, when any man did offer wheat, it was first anointed by the priest with oil, then seasoned with salt, and last of all had frankincense put upon it: after that the priest took one handful from out of all (but in the sacrifice for the priest all was burnt), and burnt it upon the altar; the rest he did reserve, as a share to himself. [Lev. vi. 23.] And in all meat-offerings frankincense was always used, except in the sacrifice for sin and in the sacrifice of jealousy; as is to be seen in the fifth of Leviticus and the fifth of the book of Numbers. The rest that belongeth to the full rites and ceremonies of the meat-offerings whosoever is desirous to know, he shall find them in the second chapter of Leviticus. For I mean not here particularly to repeat every jot and tittle of their accustomed ceremonies.

Now even as Christ was before prefigured in beasts and birds, so also is he represented in this bread or cakes. For

[5 cibarium, Lat.]

he is the bread of life, and hath sundry fashions of infirmity and glory. In Christ thou shalt not find any leaven, that is, sin, uncharitableness, hypocrisy, or pride. There is in Christ no sweetness, nor honey-like taste, of worldly or wicked pleasures. But salt thou mayest find in him, a well seasoned temperature altogether heavenly, and most absolute wisdom. Because of Christ, and for his sake, all things of ours are acceptable unto God; for Christ his sake our prayers are heard of God the Father: upon Christ, therefore, there is a sweet-smelling frankincense in the nose of God the Father[1]. And in these ceremonies are also shadowed the manner and matter of our sacrifices; to wit, that they should be without hypocrisy, bitterness, hatred, envy, and fleshly pleasure, and should be seasoned with godly and continual prayers.

The drink-offerings.

With the meat-offerings we may place the drink-offerings also[2]. For in those sacrifices wine was poured out unto the Lord, as is evident in the twenty-ninth of Exodus, the twenty-third of Leviticus, and the twenty-eighth chapter of the book of Numbers. Now Christ is our wine, our drink, and joy unto eternal life. He poureth himself into the minds of the godly, that he may fill them with joy, and live in them and they in him. And therefore did he consecrate in wine the memory of his blood that was shed for us to the remission of our sins.

With these meat-offerings may be joined the sacrifices of the first-fruits, of the first-begotten, and of the tenths: touching all which there is much to be read in divers places of the law; as in the thirteenth and twenty-third of Exodus, in the eighteenth of Deuteronomy, and the eighteenth of the book of Numbers. Now Christ is the first-begotten and the first-fruits of all the faithful, for whose worthiness and merit we are all spared, and by whom we, being sanctified, are made the sons and[3] heirs of God. To him, as to our Maker and Redeemer, we owe, as tenths, our very souls, and whatsoever else is dear unto (and good in) us. Moreover, it is a point of thankfulness frankly to bestow upon God part of our earthly riches, which we have at his hands, to the main-

[1 The Latin is only, Est ergo thus super Christo.]

[2 נְסָךְ.]

[3 adeoque et, Lat.; and so also.]

tenance of his true worship, and the relief of all that be in poverty.

The third kind of sacrifice is that which is offered for sin, and is therefore called *Hattah*[4], a cleansing[5], or *Ascham*[6], a sacrifice for sin. We in one word may call it a cleansing sacrifice[7]. For it was offered for sin committed unwittingly or by ignorance; (which by the degrees of the sinners were divided into four sorts; as, if the chief priest did sin, if the whole church did sin, if the prince did sin, or if some man of the meaner sort did sin:) or else they did offer it for sin committed willingly, or of a set purpose, being yet a mean or excusable[8] sin; or else for a great and heinous crime, which ignorance could by no means excuse. The ceremony used in this sacrifice is very ample and large, so that I mean not presently once to touch it[9]. It is most exquisitely set down in the fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh chapters of Leviticus. Neither is it to be doubted but that Christ was laid before their eyes, as well in that sacrifice, as in all their other oblations. For Christ is the end of the law, (and the mark whereto the ceremonial laws did tend[10].) And Esay in the fifty-third chapter of his prophecy saith: "Whereas he never did unrighteousness, nor any deceitfulness was found in his mouth; yet hath it pleased the Lord to smite him with infirmity; that when he had made his soul an offering for sin[11]," (for here is put אָשָׁם *Ascham*,) "he might see seed, and might prolong his days, and that the advice of the Lord might prosper in his hand." To this belongeth that whole disputation of the apostle Paul in his Epistle to the Hebrews, wherein he sheweth that Christ is the true sacrifice for sin, that cleanseth all the church and the sins thereof[12]. In this ceremony were shadowed[13] the disposition[14] of sins[13], the passions of Christ, and the power and strength of death[15].

The sin-offering.

Isai. liii.

[4 חַטָּאת.] [5 piaculare, Lat.]

[6 אָשָׁם.] [7 sacrificium expiatorium, Lat.]

[8 *mediocri* is Bullinger's one word here.]

[9 adeo ut in præsenti per compendium commemorare non placeat, Lat.]

[10 This sentence between brackets is an addition of the translator's.]

[11 hostiam delicti, vel victimam pro culpa, Lat.]

[12 et peccata omnia, Lat.] [13 partim, Lat. omitted; partly.]

[14 ingenia, Lat.] [15 passionis Christi et mortis virtus, Lat.]

The yearly sacrifice.

Now these many and sundry sacrifices, appointed for sins, were kept uncertainly[1], because they were wont to be offered of them that sinned at that very time when they did commit the sin: but the certain, the yearly, and universal sacrifice was that which is at large described in the sixteenth of Leviticus, and may be referred in this place to the number of cleansing sacrifices. For in the feast of atonement, upon the tenth day of the seventh month every year, was solemnized the sacrifice of cleansing, or atonement, for all the sins universally of all the people. The manner of this general sacrifice I will not over-busily at this time describe, since it is as clearly as the light set down in that place of Leviticus which even now I cited; and since I, in expounding the mystery thereof, do mean to shew, and make plain, so many shadows in it as are needful to be marked. For I will say somewhat touching the meaning and mystery thereof.

In that most pleasant glass was figured the whole passion, and effect of the passion, of Jesus Christ, our Lord and Saviour; which by that sacrifice was every year laid before the eyes and renewed to the minds of all the faithful church of God. For this manner of representing our redemption and salvation did please God, by sacraments, rather than by pictures, colours, or by stage-plays; which are at this day greatly set by, although scarce godly, by no small number of trifling and fantastical heads[2].

Now mark, that the high priest only did all that was to be done in this solemn sacrifice; save only that two ministers were joined unto him, the one to lead away the scape-goat, and the other to carry out of the host the bullock and he-goat that was to be offered. Yea, charge is very precisely given, that no man should join himself to the high priest, when he entereth into the tabernacle, and maketh an atonement for the sins of the people. "Let no man," saith the Lord, "be in the tabernacle of appointment, when he goeth in to make sacrifice in the sanctuary, until he do come out again." For no man must be joined to Christ in finishing the work of our salvation and redemption. For he alone is

[Lev. xvi. 17.]

[1 conceptiva erant, Lat.]

[2 Viz. the Miracle Plays, or Mysteries—the Easter representations of our Lord's crucifixion and resurrection, &c. Brand's Pop. Antiq. Vol. I.]

the Saviour; he alone hath trode the press, and he alone was crucified for us. The patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, and all other creatures, are utterly excluded from having any thanks for our redemption and salvation. Christ alone remaineth the Saviour and Redeemer of the world. To attribute our salvation to creatures, to our own works and our own merits, is to admit creatures with the high priest into the tabernacle, and to incur the indignation, that is, the terrible curse, of the almighty, true, and everliving God. For by the Jewish high priest is prefigured to us Christ our Saviour, who, as the apostle Paul saith, hath a priesthood, which by succession cannot go from him to any other[3].

Now Aaron did take a bullock for a sin-offering, and a ram for a burnt-offering, of his own; and of the people he took two he-goats. Therefore Christ our Lord, the true and only priest of his church, did offer for us the thing that he took of us, to wit, the substance of our flesh. There is added also, that Aaron, (by which name we understand every one that was the high priest among the people of God), when he went about to sacrifice, did clothe himself with the usual and common garments of the other priests (I mean, such as the other priests were wont to wear), saving only that they were holy and without spot. For, although Christ the Son of God did take our nature upon him, and did become like unto us, being clad, as it were, in the usual garment of us men; yet, notwithstanding, his fleshly garment (I mean, his body that was like to ours) was altogether free from corruption[4], and clean without all spots of sin.

Aaron did first of all kill a steer for himself and his family: whereby he declared that he was not the very and true high priest, but the type of him that was the true priest. For Paul saith: "Our high priest had no need, as those high priests had, first to offer sacrifices for their own sins, and then for the sins of the people. For he did that once, when he offered up himself." Afterwards Aaron drew lots at the door of the tabernacle, to try betwixt the two goats, which should be slain for the sacrifice, and which should be sent away as [Heb. vii. 26, 27.]

[3 Heb. viii. 24, "hath an unchangeable priesthood;" ἀπαράβατον ἔχει τὴν ἱερωσύνην, one that cannot pass on to a successor. See Schleusner. P.]

[4 his fleshly—to ours, not in Lat.; he is altogether, &c.]

the scape-goat into the desert. The two goats do signify Christ our Lord, very God and very man, in two natures unseparated. He is slain, and dieth[1] in his humanity; but is not slain nor dieth in his divinity. Yet he, being one and the same Christ, unseparated, is the Saviour of the world, and doth work the redemption of us mortal men. So in the two goats was a mystery hidden. And for because, as Solomon saith, the lots are guided by the Lord's will, it was not without the especial will of the Father that the Son was sacrificed, and killed on the cross.

[Prov. xvi. 33.]

Moreover, the high priest did take the blood, first of the bullock, then of the slain goat, and a censer in his hand, and went within the veil, where with the incense he did make a cloud of smoke before the mercy-seat, and with his finger did sprinkle the blood seven times toward the mercy-seat. All which the apostle Paul expounding in the ninth to the Hebrews saith, that "Christ entered not into the tabernacle made with hands, but into the very heavens; not with the blood of a bullock, or a goat, but with his own blood, and found for us a perpetual cleansing and remission of our sins." For "he is our propitiation; not for our sins only, but also for the sins of all the world." And hereunto did the apostles allude, as often as they called Christ our propitiation; as St Paul in the third to the Romans, and St John in the second and fourth chapter of his first epistle. Now the seven times sprinkling of the blood betokened the full perfection, or perfect fulness, of the cleansing. We have need also to be sprinkled with the finger, not of man, but of Christ[2] Jesus, our Lord and Saviour, whose finger is the Holy Ghost, by whom our cleansing doth come upon us. To the sprinkling of the blood is also added sweet-smelling incense[3]: for, as the apostle testifieth, Christ, our high priest, did offer prayers for us with tears, and was heard in that which he feared[4]. Whereupon, by the cloud of smoke, that is, by the great quantity of smoke, was noted the great efficacy of earnest prayers.

[1 John ii. 2.]

When that was done, the high priest went again into the

[1 secundum id quod mori potuit, Lat.]

[2 summi nostri Pontificis, Lat.; our High-priest.]

[3 incensum aromaticum contusum, Lat.; of beaten, pounded, aromatics.]

[4 Heb. v. 7, pro reverentia, Lat.; for his piety. Auth. Ver. marg.]

sanctum, and set the blood upon the golden altar of incense. For in the work of our redemption both innocent blood and earnest prayer for us must be joined together. Out of the *sanctum* again he came to the altar of burnt-offerings, which stood in the court (which was called *atrium*), and there he gave the other goat to a convenient man to be carried away into the wilderness: but in the delivering of the goat he used a precise manner and singular ceremony. For the high priest laid both his hands upon the goat, and over his head did confess the sins of the people, who also did themselves confess their sins, following the priest, clause by clause, in all the confession[5] which he rehearsed: and then, so soon as all the sins were laid upon the head of the goat, he was sent away, that by that means he might carry the sins of all the people[6] into the desert. From this ceremony did the Gentiles undoubtedly borrow their kind of cleansings or purgings of the people, called in Greek *καθάρματα*[7], and in Latin *piamina*. For their manner was, in extreme perils, that one should give himself for all the rest, whom they took, and did either kill and burn upon the altar, or cast into the water; praying therewithal, that all their evil luck might go with him, and that the gods being pacified with the death of him[8] might again be favourable to all the rest. But the wretches erred as far as heaven is wide: for Christ the Son of God was made sin for us, that is, he was made a sacrifice for sin, yea, he became a curse for us, that we by him might receive a blessing. For to this had the prophet Esay an eye, when he said: "We all went astray like sheep; every one turned after his own way: but the Lord hath thrown down upon him[9] all our sins." Again: "He was wounded for our offences, and smitten for our wickedness." And again: "The pains of our punishment were laid upon him, and he bare our griefs[10]."

[5 See Lightfoot's Temple Service, chap. 15. Works, Vol. I. p. 963. Lond. 1684. See above, p. 169, note 8.]

[6 totius ecclesiæ, Lat.]

[7 *καθάρματα*—homines ignobiles et scelerati, qui publice alebantur et grassante peste aliove malo graviore immolabantur ad expiandum urbem aut civitatem Deorumque iram avertendam. Schleusner, in voc.]

[8 unius, Lat.]

[9 effecit in illum incurrere, Lat.]

[10 Isai. liii. 6, 8, 5. For the payne of oure punyshmēt shal be layde upō him. Coverdale, 1535. But this last quotation in the Latin

Now the goat did carry the sins into the desert, not that the sins should not be, but that they should not be any more imputed unto them. For in the church verily there is sin in the saints, but it is not imputed unto them. Sin is imputed to all them that are without the church, in the desolate wilderness. The convenient man, that should carry away the scape-goat, can be none other than Christ himself, who in the days of his flesh did observe the convenient time and fit occasion, repeating oftentimes that his hour was not yet come; but at the last, when time convenient was come for him to die, he said that then his hour was come. And by dying he carried away conveniently the scape-goat, I mean[1], the sin of all the world.

When this also was thus accomplished, the high priest did again wash himself; and, putting off the common garments of the inferior priests, did again put on his high priest's attire. Now this often and manifold washing in the holy ceremony is a shadow, or type, of the most absolute remission of sins; even as also the changing of a garment is a sign or figure of glorification; as is at the full to be seen in the third chapter of Zachary's prophecy. And Christ, being glorified, did enter into heaven, there to appear in the sight of God, the only and effectual sacrifice for us mortal men. Therefore did Aaron sacrifice a ram for a burnt-offering: for Christ is the sacrifice which endureth always, and purgeth all the faithful.

Moreover, Aaron sent the bullock and the other goat unto the holy place without the host, that there they might be burned. Which thing Paul expoundeth thus, and saith: "The bodies of those beasts, whose blood is brought into the holy place by the high priest for sin, was burnt without the tents: therefore Jesus also, that he might sanctify the people with his blood, did suffer without the gate." Heb. xiii.

And although in this which I have hitherto alleged I have by fits[2] declared the end and fruit of this ceremony, yet will I not think it much here again particularly to repeat the same again; since I see that the Holy Ghost in the scripture doth, as it were, take pains very busily to beat the same into our heads.

is of verse 4: Vere languores nostros ipse tulit, et dolores nostros ipse portavit.]

[1 adeoque, Lat.] [2 sparsim, Lat.]

The end of all this stir and solemnity is[3], that all the sins, I say, all the sins of God's universal church, are by the one and only sacrifice, once only offered, most perfectly blotted out[4] and absolutely purged. Let us, therefore, hear the very words of the Holy Ghost, which speaketh in the scripture most plainly and evidently, saying: First, "And the high priest shall confess over the goat all the iniquities of the children of Israel, and all their trespasses and all their sins." [Lev. xvi. 21, 22, 30, 34.] Secondly, "And the goat shall bear upon him all their misdeeds into the desert." Thirdly, "The same day shall the priest make an atonement for you, to cleanse you, that you may be clean from all your sins before the Lord." Fourthly, "And let this be an everlasting ordinance unto you, to cleanse the children of Israel from all their sins once every year." But who is so very a sot or dull head as to think, that all the sins of the people are washed away with the blood of beasts? "If," saith the apostle, "they had once fully cleansed sins, then would they have ceased to offer any more." [Heb. x. 1, 2.] By this ceremony, therefore, the mystery of Christ to come was beaten into all men's brains, and once every year laid forth to the eyes of all men to behold. For of this ceremony did Zachary borrow his prophecy of Christ, in his third chapter, where he saith: "Behold, I bring forth the Branch, my servant. For, lo, the stone that I lay before Josua, upon one stone shall be seven eyes: behold, I will cut the graving thereof, saith the Lord of hosts, and I will take away the sin of this land in one day." Zech. iii. The Lord doth promise the Messiah, which was prefigured by the priests, and especially by[5] the high priest Josua. Christ is the stone, upon which the eyes of all men are stedfastly fixed, as upon their only Saviour. He is digged in, and cut, in his passion; and by suffering and dying once he purgeth the sins of all the earth.

Of this ceremony, and of this place of scripture, did Paul, the holy apostle of Christ, borrow his whole discourse almost in his epistle to the Hebrews, touching the sacrifice of Christ once offered for all the sins of the whole world: in which discourse he doth very often repeat out of the law the word "once," and that with a certain emphatical vehemency.

[3 omnium, Lat.; stir and solemnity, not in Lat.]
[4 e medio sublata, Lat.]
[5 of, ed. 1587.]

The only sacrifice of Christ is sufficient for all the world.

Now, to appoint other priests, to institute another time, and to ordain another manner of sacrifice, is utterly to kick at, and tread under foot, this heavenly and most evident truth. But this doctrine of the only sacrifice of Christ is the true, ancient, sound, unreproveable, and everlasting doctrine: by which all they are saved that are saved, and by which all they have been saved, that have been saved since the beginning of the world. The enemies or adversaries of this doctrine Paul, the apostle of Christ and the Gentiles, (whose skill in the law was inferior to no man's,) doth call fools, mad, unconstant, light-headed, carried with every puff of wind, wicked, apostates, which have revolted from Christ, liars, false prophets, false apostles, deceivers, schismatics, dogs, enchanters, witches, detestable, and cursed. Therefore, if an angel from heaven teach us any otherwise, let him be to us accursed.

[1 Cor. xvi. 22; 2 Cor. xi. 3, 13; Gal. i. 8, 9; iii. 1, 3; v. 4; Eph. iv. 14; Phil. iii. 2.]

Yet by the way this must not be concealed, that in that yearly sacrifice it was required and looked for at men's hands, first, that they should confess their sins; then, that they should be sorry in their minds, in good earnest and indeed, for their sins committed; and lastly, that they should keep sabbath,—I do not mean an idle resting from honest business, but a quietness in the faith of Christ and a ceasing from ill deeds. Whosoever doth so prepare himself in the feast of atonement, that is, in the time of the preaching of the grace of God through Christ, he is without doubt throughly cleansed by that only sacrifice of Christ Jesus: of which I have hitherto not without good cause spoken so largely as you perceive that I have. For this one place doth give a wonderful light both to the understanding of many places in the scriptures, and also of the mystery of our redemption, and of Christ our Redeemer, so plainly, that no other place[1] doth so clearly expound, set forth, and lay them open before our eyes to be seen and looked on: it doth also teach us to understand the words of Christ our Lord in the gospel of St John, where he saith, "There is one which accuseth you, even Moses, in whom ye hope: for had ye believed Moses, ye would then have believed me; for he wrote of me."

[John v. 45, 46.]

This water was also called the water of

Now with the sacrifice of atonement and the other cleansing sacrifices we do advisedly number the sacrifice of the red

[1 vix alius, Lat.; scarce any other.]

cow; I mean, of the cleansing, or of the cleansing or holy water, that was ordained against all sorts of defilings and uncleannesses. For there were sundry kinds of uncleannesses; of which there is a large discourse to be seen in Moses his law: and by them is laid before us the type of our corrupt nature and continual sins. There is fully described, in the nineteenth chapter of the book of Numbers, first the very ceremony and sacred rite; then is declared the manner how to make the holy cleansing water against all defilings; lastly is added the use and effect of that holy water.

separation, and the water of expiation; because they, upon whom it was sprinkled, were separated for a time from the rest of the people, till by it they were cleansed.

There was brought to Eleazar the priest a red cow without spot, which never felt the yoke, and that was out of hand carried out and slain without the host. Part of the blood was saved by the priest, and with his finger he sprinkled it seven times towards the tabernacle of appointment: but the whole cow he burnt with fire, so that no part of it was left; and into the fire he cast cedar-wood, hyssop, and a scarlet lace. This being once done, the priest did wash himself in water, and in his stead came another that was clean[2], who, gathering the ashes, did lay them up in a clean place. Therefore, so often as need required, they did put off those ashes into an earthen vessel, into which they poured running water[3]; and in that sort was the holy cleansing water always prepared, which they did sprinkle with a sprinkler made of hyssop upon all such as were defiled. This was the manner and ceremony of the cleansing, the use and end whereof doth immediately follow.

The sacrifice of the red cow.

The apostle Paul doth testify, that the circumstances of this ceremony did lay before us a most evident type of Jesus Christ: for in the ninth chapter to the Hebrews he saith: "If the ashes of a young cow, sprinkled, doth sanctify them that are partakers of it to the purifying of the flesh, how much more the blood of Christ!" Therefore both the priest and the cow did bear the type of Christ. The female kind in the cow doth note the infirmity of man's nature; the red colour doth admonish us of the Lord his blood, by which we are washed from our uncleanness. There was no spot to be found in Christ; for he was the Holy of holies, and altogether free from and without all sin. He was not brought to death by the yoke of necessity; for he offered himself unto it of

Heb. ix.

[2 vir mundus, Lat.] [3 aqua viva, Lat.]

his own free will: yea, he offered himself willingly to go to his death, and that too without the host or walls of the city, in the mount of Calvary: which thing the apostle Paul doth touch in the thirteenth to the Hebrews. Christ, both God and man, was wholly offered in body and soul: whose blood is wholesome[1] for us, if by the Holy Ghost it be sprinkled in our hearts. The faithful also must die with Christ; they must be humbled, and burn in love to God-ward as red as scarlet[2]: and that was the meaning of the cedar-wood, the hyssop, and the scarlet lace, which were cast into the fire.

Moreover, the ashes which came of the sacrifice were gathered up and preserved to purify and cleanse withal. Those ashes were nothing else but the type or figure of the effect of Christ his death or sacrifice; I mean, the very cleansing and remission of our sins. For therefore did blood and water gush abundantly out of the pierced side of Christ[3], that we might learn that out of the death of Christ doth flow our cleansing and our life: for in blood life doth consist, and water purgeth and is a sign of cleansing. The ashes were gathered by a man that was clean, who nevertheless was made, and did remain, unclean until the evening. Finally, the water was sprinkled with a sprinkler made of hyssop upon the defiled, to the end that thereby he might be sanctified or purged. The water was kept in an holy place: for margarites[4], and that which is holy, ought not to be cast to dogs and filthy swine. The Lord also doth require preachers to teach the effect of Christ his passion, and in the contemptible and lowly[5] preaching of the gospel to lay before the world our redemption and sanctification in the death and blood of Christ: he doth require, I say, such holy teachers as are themselves faithful and cleansed in the blood of Christ. And yet those teachers, with the whole church beside, do even till

[1 salutaris, Lat.]

[2 ardere amore divino et extolli, Lat. 'As red as scarlet,' is the translator's addition.]

[3 morientis et jam extincti Christi, Lat.; of Christ, when dying, and now already dead.]

[4 margaritæ, Lat.; pearls, Matth. vii. 6.]

[5 coram mundo, Lat.; as the world esteems it. The translator missed the meaning of these words, when he rendered them, "to lay before the world." Bullinger had in his mind 1 Cor. i. 20—29.]

the evening, I mean, the ending of their lives, pray still, "Forgive us our trespasses." For the Lord himself said; "He that is washed is clean, and hath no need but to wash his feet only." To this do appertain the often washings used in this ceremony, which signify that by the grace of God all sins are purged; that the saints have always an holy care to watch against the assaults of sin; and that those sins are cleansed none other ways but by the water of Christ his grace. Lastly, it is most often and earnestly repeated in the law, that they all remain unclean, how many soever, being once defiled, are not again cleansed with the holy water of separation. For the Lord said to Peter, "Unless I wash thee, thou shalt have no part with me." [John xiii. 10.] [John xiii. 8.]

My meaning is not to run through every particular point of this ceremony, but to touch the especial matters only. Therefore now I proceed to that which remaineth.

To these cleansing sacrifices may also be added the sacrifices whereby the bodily defilings, which were figures of the defilings of sin, were purified and cleansed: of which sort were the defilings of the seed, the eating and touching of unclean creatures, the leprosy, and of the woman in child-bed: all which Moses doth largely handle from the twelfth of Leviticus unto the fifteenth of the same. And in all this there is nothing else prefigured to the church of God but our natural corruption and original wickedness, with the free cleansing of the same by the grace of God in the blood of Christ our Saviour. With these we may also number the sacrifice of jealousy; which is thoroughly treated of in the fifth chapter of Numbers: although the manner and order thereof seemeth rather to belong unto the judicial laws of God.

Sacrifices for the defilings of the body.

The sacrifice of jealousy.

The fourth kind of sacrifices was the sacrifice of thanksgiving[6], which they called *schelamim*, or *scholomim*[7], the sacrifice of health, or the peace-offering: for it was offered to give thanks withal, to wit, either for the recovery of health, or for felicity and prosperity; I mean, when they had received some good turn at the hands of God, or else by his aid had escaped the brunt of some mishap or evil fortune. In this sacrifice they used a beast either of the herd or of the

The sacrifice of thanksgiving.

[6 sacrificium eucharistiæ, gratiarum actionis, vel gratulatorium, Lat.]

[7 שְׁלָמִים.]

fold: it was not lawful to offer birds; for it was done either with a bullock or an heifer, with a male or a female lamb, or with an he or she-goat. It was slain before the *atrium:* the hide or skin thereof was the priest's fee. The blood was sprinkled about the altar. The kidneys, the caul of the liver, the rump of the lamb, and all the fat, was burnt upon the altar of burnt-offerings. The right shoulder was heaved, the breast was waved toward the ends of the world[1]. (For *thruma* and *thnupha*[2], that is, the heaving and waving, were not kinds of sacrifices, but ceremonies only, which the priests did use in making their sacrifices and oblations. By the heaving was signified, that Christ should be heaved or lifted up, and that he, being once lifted up, should draw all men unto him. The waving of the breast toward every part of the world was a token, that the preaching of Christ should be spread in every corner of the world.) The breast and the shoulder were both the priest's portion, together with the jaw-bone and the paunch or belly. The rest of the flesh returned to him that made the oblation, and was eaten by him in an holy banquet. The remnant of ceremonies belonging to this sacrifice are to be found in the third chapter of Leviticus. For if it were *thoda*[3], a confession, a praise, or a protestation, then was added to the sacrifice a cake of pure wheat flour and salt steeped in oil, or sodden cracknels, or bread baken in pans: part whereof was heaved, and fell to the priest's share; the rest returned to the offerer, even as also leavened bread was allowed to be eaten in the banquet.

Thruma and thnupha.

[Lev. vii. 11—13.]

Now in this kind of sacrifice also Christ was preached, with the effect and power of his death and passion; and in it was shewed the whole manner and order of giving thanks to God for his good benefits. There are sundry sorts of benefits. If a man received a good turn, if an ill turn had not befallen him, if he had recovered his health or had escaped some misfortune, he offered a sacrifice to the Lord. There are also other ancient benefits common to all men[4]; as, that God

[1 in cardines mundi, Lat.]

[2 תְּרוּמָה, *a heave-offering.* תְּנוּפָה, *waving, shaking* of sacrifices before Jehovah, a particular rite in offering. Gesenius, Heb. and Eng. Lex. in voc.]

[3 תּוֹדָה, Heb. confession, praise.]

[4 common to all men, not in Lat.]

hath made the world and all that is therein; and that through Christ he hath redeemed all the faithful: there are daily benefits; yea finally, all things are full of God's good benefits. For all which benefits we must offer our sacrifice to God alone, and not to any creatures which he hath made: yea, we must offer to him with all our hearts; all our affections must be hallowed to the Lord. For out of the beasts which were sacrificed to the Lord for thanksgiving, those parts were chosen and given to the Lord in which the especial power of life consisteth. For in the kidneys is the power of generation; in the blood the vital spirit; in the liver the spring of all the blood, &c. Now we must give thanks by a sacrifice, that is, by Christ, for[5] we are saved for Christ his sake; and all good things are bestowed on us by God, not for our own sakes, nor for any creatures' sakes, but for Christ his sake, our only Saviour and Redeemer. To them which offered was allowed a sober and merry banquet, because the felicity of those that are not unthankful is for the most part augmented two-fold double. And the knowledge of Christ is a delicate banquet and a continual feast.

The free-will-offering.

With the sacrifices of thanksgiving those offerings do much agree which are called vows and free-will-offerings[6]. The free-will-offering was that which proceeded of mere good will and devotion of the mind, without necessity or compulsion of any law or ordinance; as when a servant giveth to his master the thing that he oweth him not, for a declaration only of the good will that he beareth unto him. But herein the free-will-offerings do differ from the sacrifice of thanksgiving; because in the sacrifice of thanksgiving charge was given, that whatsoever was left, which was not spent the first day, should not be eaten on the morrow, but be burnt with fire: on the other side, in the free-will-offerings it was lawful for them to eat the remnant upon the second day, and[7] to burn their leavings upon the third day. Now the vowed sacrifices were those which were offered by covenant to the Lord; as for example, a man, being in peril, doth vow to make a sacrifice to God, if he be delivered out of that imminent danger: it falleth out that he is delivered, and he

[5 porro, Lat.; further.]

[6 נֶדֶר, a vow, נְדָבָה, a voluntary offering.]

[7 jubebantur, Lat.; they were commanded.]

for his delivery doth offer up the sacrifice: the thing that is so offered is called a vowed sacrifice. The ceremonies of the twain[1] did wholly agree with the sacrifice of thanksgiving. More of them is to be seen in the seventh chapter of Leviticus.

The meaning of these sacrifices was, that all good benefits are bestowed upon us for Christ his sake; and[2] with those benefits we receive the very good will which we have to serve the Lord.

Thus much have I hitherto said touching the sacrifices of the people of God: not that I have touched every point, but so many only as are of most importance. In these sacrifices, as in a lively action, were set forth Christ our Lord, his passion, and the effectual merit of his death: so that we may call the holy actions of the sacrifices sermons upon the passion of Christ, and instructions[3] of our redemption by our Lord and Saviour.

Of vows. Now, for because we have already spoken hitherto of vowed sacrifices, we must here consequently borrow leave, for a digression, to say somewhat of their usual vows. For vows belong to the Jewish ceremonies. Of the making, performing, and redeeming of vows there is a large discourse in the law of God, but especially in the twenty-seventh of Leviticus. To vow is to promise any thing[4] with an oath solemnly, either for our own or another's welfare. And therefore a vow was an action referred to God alone, and that too in an holy and lawful thing. But in vows there was a difference; because vowed things were divided into four kinds: for sometimes they vowed men, sometimes they vowed other living things, sometimes houses, and sometimes lands or other immoveable substance[5]. Again, there was a difference in men according to their ages, and after[6] their ages they might be redeemed. For clean living creatures there was no redemption permitted at all. It was free either to leave their houses to the use of the ministery, or else to redeem them with such a sum as the priest should

[1 of the twain, not in Lat.]
[2 atque adeo, Lat.; and so too.]
[3 catecheses, Lat.] [4 Deo, Lat.; unto God.]
[5 res inanimes, Lat.; lifeless things.]
[6 juxta, Lat.; according to.]

value them at[7]. In lands, redemption was sometimes admitted, and sometimes not admitted. And in the thirtieth chapter of the book of Numbers there is a precise commandment given touching the votaries, when their vows are of force, and when of small effect; where it is diligently beaten into their heads, that vows lawfully made to God are not to be called back again, but straitly kept and throughly performed. Rash or unlawful vows the Lord did never like of nor receive.

Of the lawful vows, and such as are made to the true and only God, the prophet speaketh, where he saith, "Make vows, and pay them." We read not that any of the godly sort did make any vows to any saints or any other creatures; neither that they vowed any thing that was not in their power to vow, nor that which was contrary to the will of God to whom they vowed it, nor that which was to their neighbour's hinderance, nor the thing that had not in it some evident commodity. And verily, these kinds of vows were for none other cause permitted to the Israelites till the time of amendment, but that they should remain in the worship of one true God, and not make their vows to any other strange God. [Ps. lxxvi. 11.]

To the treatise of vows belongeth the discipline and order of the Nazarites; of which there is a large discourse in the sixth chapter of the book of Numbers. The Nazarites were those who, because they would the more freely, without let, attend upon God's service, or else because they had heretofore lived too licentiously, did of their own accord and will take upon them a more strict and severe trade of life than the common people used, and kept it for a discipline, to make other men to follow their example of virtue and honest living. Whereupon it cometh to pass, that some do take the Nazarites to have their name of separation, because *Nazir* among the Hebrews signifieth a separation; and that the Nazarites, separating themselves from the common trade of life that other men did lead, did give themselves to a peculiar form of living for God and godliness' sake. That severe and strict discipline did continue in some by the length of all their lifetime, as in Samson and Samuel. The discipline of the Nazarites. [Jud. xiii. 7; 1 Sam. i. 11.]

Moreover, such as did wholly give themselves to the

[7 æstimatione æqua, Lat.; fair valuation.]

[Amos ii. 11; Lam. iv. 7.] study of the scriptures were, by the prophets Amos and Jeremy, because of their most temperate life (which is required of students), and because they were wholly dedicated to the ministry of God, called Nazarites. Sometimes also it did endure but for the space of certain days or months. These Nazarites did abstain, according to the commandment of the law, from certain things, from which they were not barred by any other law, and which were not unlawful for other men to use which were without the necessity of that vow. First of all they abstained from wine, from all things that the vine brought forth, and whatsoever else did make men drunken. But it is manifest, that as wine is the good creature of God, so no drink is forbidden by the law. Yet for because the Nazarites were consecrated to the Lord, and sanctified by a certain peculiar kind of living; and for because wine is the means that leadeth to drunkenness, which is the gulf of all sin and filthiness; therefore did the Nazarites not without a cause abstain from wine. They did also take heed of idleness, the mother of mischief, and utterly despised all worldly pleasures. Furthermore, so long as the time of their vow endured, they did not clip their hair, but let their locks grow out a length. And thereupon, as some do think, they took their names, and were called Nazarites: for insomuch as *Nazer* signifieth hair, they suppose that they were called Nazarites, as who should say, long-locked or shaggy-haired people[1]. But the apostle Paul biddeth the woman to pray, or to come into the congregation to hear a sermon, with her head covered, for none other cause, but for that she is not in her own power, but subject to another, that is, to her husband. And therefore the Nazarites did let their hair grow, because by the vow which they had made to God they were no longer in their own power, but were wholly yielded into the power of God. And the head, which is the tower of the body and the most excellent part thereof, being covered[2] with a bush of hair, was a token that the whole man was by vow given to the Lord, to whom alone he ought to have an eye, and upon whom alone he ought wholly to depend. Moreover it

[1 נָזִיר, *consecration.* Hence meton. *the consecrated head* (of a Nazarite);—and even (the primary idea being neglected), *the long, unshorn hair* (of a woman). Gesenius, Heb. and Eng. Lex. in voc.]

[2 veluti obvelata, Lat.; covered as with a veil.]

was required at the hands of the Nazarite, that he should not defile himself with the contagious company of wicked and naughty persons. Whereunto also belongeth the commandment, which charged the Nazarite not to be present at the death or burial of his parents, or children, or wife, or brethren, or sisters. For he ought to settle the eyes of his mind upon God alone, and in comparison of him to set light by and loathe the things which were most dear and precious unto him. But if it so fell out, that[3] at unawares he were defiled by seeing of a dead body[4], he was not therefore acquitted of his vow, as one whose former life had been sufficient for the performance of the same: for he was commanded to sanctify himself the seventh day, and then to undertake the keeping of his vow again.

Samson a Nazarite to the Lord; how greatly he sinned.

By all this we may plainly perceive what and how great the sin of Samson was, who was a Nazarite to the Lord. For because he did not only lurk in the brothel-house with the harlot, but did also bewray the secret of God unto her, and cast behind him the covenant made with God, whereof his hair was a sure testimony; therefore did the Lord forsake him, and that wonderful strength which he had from heaven was clean taken from him. For the strength of Samson lay not in his hair, so that by the cutting off his hair his strength was cut away also; but it lay in the Spirit of the Lord, which was given him from God above. And therefore do we find this sentence so often in the scripture, "And the Spirit of the Lord came upon Samson." Therefore when the Spirit of God departed, his strength departed also: but it departed from him, when he, being wholly joined unto the harlot, was made one soul with her, and did prefer her before God and his commandment, so that he suffered his hair to be polled, and utterly revolted from the ordinance of the Lord: for by that means did the Spirit of God forsake him. Whereupon immediately after he was brought into the hands of his enemies the Philistines; where when he was miserably vexed, and when he heard the name of God evil spoken of[5] and blasphemed because of his captivity, he repented heartily, and

[Judg. xiii. 25; xiv. 6, 19; xv. 14.]

[3 vel, Lat.; even at.]

[4 super mortuo, Lat.; by a dead body. *Seeing of*, not in Lat.]

[5 Rather, and when on his account the name of God (male audiret, Lat.) was evil spoken of.]

called upon the name of the Lord: whereby it came to pass, that, when his hair grew forth again, his strength returned; that is, the Spirit of the Lord came upon him again, being brought unto him, not by the growing of his hairs, but by his repentance and earnest calling upon the Lord. Neither did Samson desire to revenge his own private injury so much as to suppress the blasphemous mouths, and to deliver the people of God[1] from fear and slavery. The strength of God, therefore, returned again, wherewith he bending the pillars of the theatre was himself slain with the fall of the palace, and at his death slew many mo than he had killed in all his life time before.

But now we return again to the purpose, to add the other ceremonies that do belong to the exposition of the vow of the Nazarites.

When the time was expired, therefore, which the Nazarite had taken upon him for to observe, he came to the tabernacle of the Lord, and offered the sacrifices that are prescribed in the law: whereby he testified that he was a sinner, and plainly confessed that all goodness and virtue[2], that was to be found in him, was given and bestowed from God above. And therefore he polled his head, and cast his hair into the fire[3], wherein the peace-offering was a burning. At last, when all this was in this manner accomplished, it was lawful for the Nazarite, as one loosed of his bonds, to return unto his old life again. Thus much hitherto touching the discipline of the Nazarites.

Of the clean and unclean creatures.

Now touching the clean and unclean, there is a long discourse in the law of Moses. I in my former treatise did lightly touch and pass over some certain things; but now at the last (for here I mean to make an end to speak of ceremonial laws) I will add somewhat touching the choice of meats, I mean, of clean and unclean meats.

God, verily, in the beginning created all things; and he so created them, that, as the Creator is good, even so all his creatures even at this day are good also: neither doth he gainsay himself now, when he forbiddeth certain meats, as

[1 ad quos vocatus fuerat, Lat. omitted; unto whom he had been called.]

[2 id est, si quid virtutis, Lat.; that is, whatever virtue.]

[3 craticulam, Lat.; gridiron.]

though somewhat of itself were unclean. There are other mysteries, that lie hidden under this doctrine of the choice of meats.

The laws, which are given touching meats and victuals, seem to be small and of little value; but it pleased the Lord in a small thing to admonish us what we have to do in a greater, and that even in the smallest things the authority of his Godhead ought to be regarded. For the authority of the law dependeth upon God: God is the lawgiver, and the law is his invention. This suppresseth the malapertness of mortal men, which maketh, undoeth, and every day deviseth new laws and ordinances. Therefore God in these kind of laws doth commend to his people faithful obedience to be shewed unto him: even as, in the beginning, he commanded Adam not to taste of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, requiring thereby faithful obedience to be shewed unto him. Verily, the obedience and faith, which was in the Maccabees, in old Eleazar, and in certain other godly men, that stood against king Antiochus, even to the shedding of their blood and suffering of most bitter death, did please the Lord exceedingly. Other more abstained from swine's flesh, whereby they obtained neither praise nor glory among wicked men[4]. When the word of God saith that a thing is holy, it is holy indeed; and that, because he is holy that commandeth it. When God saith that any thing is unclean, it is unclean indeed, so that to eat any thing against the word of God is to defile the eater. "Ye now," saith the Lord in the Gospel, "are clean because of the word which I said unto you." It is needful, therefore, that we believe the word of God, and that obedience go before faith[5]; and then it cannot be but that the deed or work that is of faith, as Eleazar's was, who would not taste the swine's flesh, must needs be acceptable unto God, with whom whatsoever is not of faith is sin and wickedness.

Why God forbad the eating of certain meats.

The constant obedience of certain holy men, who abstained from things unclean. [1 Mac. ii. 2; 2 Mac. vi. 18, &c.; vii.]

[John xv. 3.]

[Rom. xiv. 23.]

Moreover, the Lord in[6] these laws of his touching the abstaining from the flesh of certain living creatures had a great respect unto the health and soundness of mortal men's

[4 among wicked men, not in Lat.]

[5 et præcedat obedientia fidei, Lat.; the obedience of faith go before.]

[6 in quibusdam, Lat.; in some of.]

bodies. For some of those which he forbiddeth to be eaten are by physicians[1] scarcely thought to be wholesome for our bodies. And thereupon the saints do gather this syllogism: If God hath care for the health of our bodies, he is far more careful verily for the preservation of our souls. What may be thought of this, that many nations have tempered[2] themselves from the eating and touching of some living creatures? Therefore, that the people of Israel, who of themselves were sufficiently superstitious and curious enough, should not be their own carvers, and invent such toys as they thought best, God gave them such laws for choice of their meat as did contain hidden mysteries in them, thereby to draw them from their own devices, and to sever them from all other nations; as Moses testifieth in the fourteenth chapter of Deuteronomy, saying: "Thou art an holy people unto the Lord thy God, and the Lord thy God hath chosen thee from among all the nations upon the face of the whole earth, to be a peculiar people unto himself." To St Peter[3], in the Acts of the Apostles, a vision is shewed, wherein by the unclean beasts are meant the Gentiles. Lastly, God would have the nature and disposition of the beasts, that he forbad to be eaten, to be throughly scanned. For in their diet at the table he did by figures lay before their eyes the heavenly philosophy, giving them occasion, even in their meat, to think and speak of the true holiness of the mind, to the end that men should not be filthy, impudent, foul, and unclean. And therefore is this clause so many times repeated, "I the Lord your God am holy;" as if he should say: All these ceremonies tend to this end, that ye may give yourselves to holiness. Wherefore in those figures he taught the godly what to follow, and what to fly from.

[Lev. xix. 2; xx. 7, 8; xxi. 8, &c.]

Now in the law of the clean and unclean he doth first of all put certain generalities; then he descendeth by specialities, and doth in a beadrow[4] reckon up certain particular things in a very natural course and order. The place is at the full set out in the eleventh chapter of Leviticus and the fourteenth of Deuteronomy. Those beasts were allowed

[1 et a medicis, Lat.]
[2 sibi temperarunt, Lat.; have abstained.]
[3 certe, Lat.; without a doubt.]
[4 per catalogum, Lat.]

to be eaten, which cleave the hoof, and chaw the cud. Here are two things set down, in which the duty of a good man is notably contained: for if we will be clean, we must divide the hoof, and also chaw the cud. Our affection is the foot of our minds, which affection must not be followed. We must have discretion in all things to judge betwixt affections. And as in a cleft there be two parts or sides, the right and the left; so a good man chooseth the good, and flieth from the evil. Chawing of the cud is our judgment. For we must not admit everything which we hear and see, but those things only which we have examined exactly, and found to be contrary neither to God nor to his law.

There are then repeated many living things particularly, which were not lawful to be eaten among the people of the Lord. Those were either four-footed beasts upon the earth, or fishes, or birds, or such as creep upon the ground. Of four-footed beasts four by name we are especially forbidden: the camel, whose long and lofty neck doth teach us, that pride and arrogancy must be eschewed[5]; the coney, or the mountain mouse[6]; for God doth utterly mislike the men that are altogether overwhelmed, like coneys, in the earth, and never lift up their minds unto heaven[7]; the hare, a fearful beast, which doth warn us to shake off all cowardly fearfulness; even as also the hog doth put us in mind to avoid all uncleanness; for a hog is the very type and picture of nasty filthiness, and of it doth the byword rise, to call an uncleanly person a beastly swine[8]. And of Circe the fable goeth, that she with her enchantments did turn Ulysses his men into a sort of loathly hogs[9]. Furthermore of fishes, so much was allowed for meat, as was found to have fins and scales upon them: if they lacked either of them, they were forbidden; as the eel, which though it hath fins yet lacketh it scales, and therefore was not to be eaten. For as the bodies of fishes are ruled with the fins, so must the whole man be governed by hope[10]. The scales are hard and cover the body:

[5 modis omnibus, Lat.; by all means.]

[6 שְׁפָן, the jerboa. The name is probably derived from the animal's *burrowing*. Lee's Lex. in voc.]

[7 and never—heaven, not in Lat.]

[8 qui et proverbiis locum dedit, is the Lat. of this sentence.]

[9 Hom. Od. Lib. x.] [10 spe firma, Lat.]

and we, unless we be constant and patient in the Lord's work, are worthy to be abhorred of the Lord our Maker. Of birds those are forbidden, which are the greatest raveners, devourers; which love and live by unclean meats; which fly abroad at owl-light, at midnight, and in the dark; and such as are crafty, unstable, and nothing cheerful[1]. Herein therefore is commended unto us well-doing, abstinence, temperance, simplicity, light, constancy, cheerfulness, soundness and pureness of living. Lastly, of such as creep by the ground no small number are noted: for men altogether wrapped in worldly muck do utterly displease the Lord.

I have of purpose not reckoned up all the names of the forbidden creatures, partly because it would have been too tedious unto you, and partly because the interpreters of the Bible do wonderfully stick[2] in the interpretation of their names: so that I can never marvel enough at the extreme blind stubbornness of the Jewish people, in keeping so strictly the choice of their meats, when their own rabbins do stick, and cannot tell certainly what creatures they be that the Lord did forbid them.

To this belongeth, that even before the law, in the time of Noah, God did forbid to eat the blood and the flesh with the blood of any thing torn by wild beasts, or strangled. Before the deluge the fathers did eat the herbs and fruits of the earth. After the flood they had leave given to eat the flesh of living creatures; but so yet, that they should cut the throat off, and drain the blood out of the body. The place is extant in the ninth chapter of Genesis. Moreover, in the law the Lord with great severity saith: "Whatsoever man it be of the house of Israel, or of the strangers that sojourn among you, that eateth any manner of blood, I will set my face against that soul, and will cut him off from among his people." Leviticus xvii. And the same law is repeated in the nineteenth chapter of the same book, and in the twelfth and fifteenth chapter of Deuteronomy. It is again rehearsed in the third and seventh chapter of Leviticus. Neither is it without very just and great causes, that he did so severely forbid the eating of blood. For first of all, after the words above rehearsed, he addeth immediately: "For the life of the flesh is in the blood; and I have given it unto you upon the altar, to

The eating of blood and strangled is forbidden.

Lev. xvii.

[1 alacres, Lat.] [2 laborant ac variant, Lat.]

make an atonement for your souls: for blood shall make an atonement for the soul. Therefore I said unto the children of Israel, Let no soul among you eat blood, &c." Lo, in these words a most evident reason is given why it was not lawful to eat blood; because blood was the most excellent and precious thing, as that which was ordained for the sanctification of mankind. For God gave blood to be as the price, wherewith sins should be cleansed; to be, I say, the price of redemption, whereby men should be absolved of their sins. Blood also is the life, that is, the nourishment of life.

The blood, therefore, was a sign of the blood of Christ, that was to be shed upon the cross: by which, as by a most full and absolute atonement, the faithful are cleansed and thoroughly sanctified; and in which is the nourishment of the soul to life everlasting: and as it was not lawful to eat the flesh of the sacrifices, whose blood was carried into the *sanctum*[3] for sin, but to burn it without the host; so it was unlawful to eat the[4] blood, which[5] was the cleansing for their sins. He therefore did eat blood, which attributed to his own strength or works the atonement which was made by the blood of Christ, esteeming his blood to be profane, and not attributing unto it the full satisfaction for all sins. Again, he did not eat, but pour the blood down at the altar, who did ascribe the benefit of our redemption to the only merit of Christ, and did esteem it of so great value as it ought by right to be esteemed.

Lastly, God would have it deeply printed in the minds of men, that no man should shed another's blood, nor live of the blood and bowels of other men: as mercenary soldiers, covetous persons, usurers, and cozeners do, in sucking out and shedding the blood of silly people with subtle sleights and open injury. And God, talking with Noah, did with terrible threats[6] beat into all murderers an horrible fear, saying: "If men be slack, I will take vengeance upon the shedding of blood." For man was made to the image and likeness of God: how can God choose then but take the reproach as done to himself, which is done unto his image? For whosoever [Gen. ix. 5, 6.]

[3] in sancta, Lat.; into the holy places.]
[4] blood, not *the* blood.]
[5] utpote, Lat.; inasmuch as it was.]
[6] et rationibus, Lat.; and reasons.]

casteth down the image of the king, he offendeth against the king, and is accused of treason.

But now touching strangled, this law was given: "Eat not with blood." And again, "Eat not of that which dieth of itself, nor of that which is torn with wild beasts, &c." But by strangled and carrion that dieth of itself are signified the dead works, from which he is bidden to purge himself[1], whosoever desireth to get God's favour. He therefore did eat strangled, whosoever did live in wickedness, without repentance, not regarding[2] the blood of Christ his Saviour.

[Exod. xxii. 31; Lev. vii. 24; xix. 26.]

The touching of unclean things.

Now also the touching of unclean things is set down in the law by these three notes; as if thou touchest an unclean thing, or if thou bear it, or if it fall by chance into some vessel or garment of thine. He verily is defiled by the falling of a thing, whosoever sinneth unwittingly. But he sinneth more heinously, whosoever sinneth[3] willingly and of a set and pretended purpose[4]. But he sinneth most grievously of all, that upholdeth[5] wickedness, and compelleth other to commit the same.

But whereas in touching, and in other places, it is said that the uncleanness shall abide till evening; that is an evident prophecy of Christ, to wit, that the Messiah should come at evening, that is, in the end of the world, to purge the sins of all the earth.

I have enough, and long enough, thus far by two whole sermons (I pray God it may be to your profit, dearly beloved) stayed in and stuck upon the ceremonial laws: therefore, that I may now come to an end, I will bring the chief points whereof I have spoken into a brief sum. I did divide the whole treatise of the ceremonial laws into three especial branches: for I spake of the holy persons, of the holy time and place, and of the holy things which the holy persons did exercise in the sacred place; I mean, the sacraments, the sacrifices, and other holy ceremonies. The holy persons are the priests: I shewed you their first beginning, their ordering, their mystical apparel, and their sundry offices. When I spake of the holy time and place, I did describe unto you the taber-

[1 per divinam gratiam, Lat.; by the grace of God.]
[2 neque magnopere curabat, Lat.]
[3 sciens, Lat. omitted; with knowledge.]
[4 dedita opera, Lat.] [5 defendit, Lat.]

nacle, and noted unto you what was within the tabernacle; to wit, the ark of the covenant, the golden table, the golden candlestick, the altar of incense, the altar of burnt-sacrifices, and the brasen laver: the mysteries of all which I declared unto you. In the treatise of the holy time I touched all the kinds of holy-days and solemn feast-days, with all their certain and uncertain holy-days. Last of all, in our discourse upon the holy things[6], I told you of the two sacraments of the old church, circumcision and the passover; and also of the sacrifices, whereof some were burnt-offerings, some meat-offerings, some peculiar, and some of thanksgiving[7]: wherein we spake somewhat also touching free-will-offerings and vowed sacrifices: finally of vows, of the discipline[8] of the Nazarites, of clean and unclean creatures, of the choice of meats, of blood and strangled, and of the touching of unclean things.

The Lord Jesus enlighten your hearts, that all this may tend to the glory of his name, and the health of your souls! Amen.

OF THE JUDICIAL LAWS OF GOD.

THE SEVENTH SERMON.

In prosecuting the treatise of God's laws, I have now lastly to speak of that sort which are called the judicial laws: of which I will entreat, dearly beloved, as briefly as I can, so far forth as I shall be persuaded to be expedient for your edification. This treatise will not be unpleasant nor unprofitable to every zealous hearer, although it doth specially belong to courts of law, where judgment is exercised: for the judicial laws were with wonderful faith and diligence set out of God[9] by the ministry of his servant Moses; and God is not wont to reveal any thing to mankind with so precise and exquisite diligence, unless it do directly tend to mankind's great commodity.

The judicial laws are profitable.

[6 et cultum sacrum, Lat.; and upon the holy worship.]

[7 gratulatoria seu eucharistica, Lat.]

[8 vel instituto, Lat.; or institution.]

[9 ab optimo et sapientissimo Deo, Lat.; of the most excellent and most wise God.]

Now although these judicial laws are very few in number, and not to be compared in multitude with the huge volumes of the laws and decrees of emperors, kings, and wisest sages; yet do they in their short breviary contain the chief points of judgment and justice, and, in effect, as much almost as is contained in the books of the laws and constitutions of the emperors and civil lawyers. The good Lord would not by too long and burdensome a pack of laws be too burdenous and troublesome unto his people; neither was it needful over curiously to stick upon every several thought of ill-disposed persons: it is sufficient for all wise men, people, and nations, if every one have so much law as is sufficient for the conservation of peace, civil honesty, and public tranquillity; as all the holy scripture[1] witnesseth that the people of Israel had.

Most ancient laws.

Now these judicial laws are the most ancient, and very fountains of all other good laws which are to be found almost in all the world. Moses was before all other lawgivers that were of name and authority: among whom Mercurius[2] Trismegistus and Rhadamanthus the Lycian[3] are thought to be the eldest. The Egyptians called their Mercurius by the name of Thoth, who, as Lactantius affirmeth, slew Argus that had so many eyes, and upon the murder fled into Egypt[4]. Now Argus and Atlas lived about the time of Cecrops Diphyes; and Cecrops is reported to have been in the same time that Moses was[5]. Rhadamanthus also is supposed to have lived after the days of Joshue, Moses his servant and successor.

He was called Diphyes, that is, Geminus, or duplicis naturæ, because he first ordained matrimony among the Grecians.

[1 universa historia sacra, Lat.; all the sacred history.]

[2 He is by Augustine (de Civit. Dei, Lib. XVIII. cap. 8 and 39) made a late contemporary of Moses.]

[3 In Euseb. Chron. A.M. 3765 are placed "Rhadamanthus et Sarpedon reges Lyciorum." Moses is there placed from A.M. 3608 to 3728. Augustine (de Civit. Dei, Lib. XVIII. cap. 12.) places Rhadamanthus in the interval between the Exodus and the death of Joshua.]

[4 legislatorem suum, Lat.; their lawgiver. Lactantius, on the authority of Cicero (de Nat. Deor. Lib. III.) having stated that there were five Mercuries, says:—quintum fuisse eum, a quo occisus sit Argus: ob eamque causam in Ægyptum profugisse; atque Ægyptiis leges ac literas tradidisse. Hunc Ægyptii Thoth appellant.—Lactant. Div. Instit. Lib. I. cap. 6. pp. 29, 30. Lugd. Bat. 1660.]

[5 Cecrops is placed by Abp. Usher, B.C. 1556, a little after the birth of Moses. In Euseb. Chron. under date A.M. 3615, it is said: Quidam scribunt Athlantem fratrem Promethei, et Argum cuncta cernentem his fuisse temporibus; alii vero ætate Cecropis (i. e. A.M. 3640.)]

But the most famous lawgivers of the greatest and most ancient nations did follow long after the death of Moses; Draco and Solon among the Athenians, Minos with the Cretians, Charondas of the Tyrians [Thurians], Phoronæus to the Argives, Lycurgus to the Lacedæmonians, Pythagoras to the Italians, Romulus and Numa unto the Romans. Plato writ of laws a little before the reign of Philip, king of Macedon and father to Alexander the Great[6]. And Cicero, Lib. II. *de Legibus*, saith: "I see therefore that the opinion of the wisest sort was, that law was neither invented by men's wits, nor yet was the decree or ordinance of people; but a certain eternal thing, ruling the whole world with discretion to command or forbid, to do or leave undone. So they said that the chief and highest law is the wisdom of God, which commandeth or forbiddeth all things by reason. Whereupon that law, which the gods have given to mankind, is rightly commended: for it is the reason and discretion of the wise which is able either to command or else forbid;" and so forth[7]. Therefore the judicial laws of God are commended unto us, not so much for their antiquity, as for the authority which they have of God.

His image was with two faces, or two heads.

The Latin copy hath mentem Dei, for the which I call the wisdom of God.

Now that we may plainly and distinctly discourse upon this matter, ye have to mark, that to judge is an action; and in this treatise is taken for an action done in the courts of judgment: for it signifieth to take up and determine of matters betwixt such as be at variance, or else upon the hearing of a cause to give sentence or judgment. Finally, to judge doth signify, to deliver them that be in danger, to relieve the oppressed, to defend the afflicted, and with punishment to keep under mischievous offenders. Judgment, therefore, is not the sitting or meeting of judges in assizes or sessions; but is rather the very diligent discussing of causes, the giving of sentence according to right and equity by the laws of God, and also the assertion and defence whereby the good are delivered, and the punishment that is executed upon the ill-

To judge, a Judge, judgment, and the judicial laws, what they be.

[6 Draco, B.C. 624. Solon, 594. Minos is placed by Euseb. Chron. thirty years later than Rhadamanthus. Charondas at Thurium, 446. Phoroneus is placed in Euseb. Chron. about the 110th year of Isaac's age. Lycurgus, 884. Pythagoras, 547. Romulus, 753. Numa, 715. Plato de Legibus, cir. 367. See also Polydor. Vergil. de rer. invent. Lib. II. cap. 1; and Augustin. de Civit. Dei. Lib. XVIII. cap. 3, 8, 25.]

[7 Cic. de Legib. Lib. II. cap. 4.]

disposed and wicked offenders. The judges are the overseers of judgment and justice; I mean, such as do justly according to the laws give sentence betwixt them that are at discord, which do defend and deliver the good, and punish and bridle the wicked. And so the judicial laws are those which inform the judges how to determine of controversies and questions, how to judge justly, how to punish the wicked, and how to defend the good, that peace, honesty, justice, and public tranquillity may be among all men; which is the end and mark alone whereto both the judge and all the judicial laws do tend and are directed. For God, our good Lord and lawgiver, would have it to go well with man, that we may live happily, civilly, and in tranquillity. And therefore we do not in this treatise exclude the care and defence of pure religion, but do make it one of the especial points which the judicial laws do look unto.

The judicial laws belong to the ten commandments.

And now even as the ceremonial laws, so also are the judicial laws added by God unto the ten commandments, to expound and confirm them therewithal. For the precepts of the ten commandments are the chief and principal precepts, whereunto we must refer all laws, as to the eternal mind or will of God. I think I need not to stand and shew you, dearly beloved, to what precepts of the ten commandments every several judicial law is to be referred: for that is very plain and evident to every one that will take but small pains to confer and lay them together. For the judicial laws that are set out against murder and injury are appertaining to this precept: "Thou shalt do no murder." And whatsoever is spoken against adultery, fornication, and filthy lusts, are added to the commandment: "Thou shalt not commit adultery." Likewise, whatsoever is said in the judicial laws against deceits, shifts, cozenings, and usury, do belong to the commandment: "Thou shalt not steal." Lastly, all the laws touching the bridling of heretics and suppressing of apostates by force are set down to make plain the first, second, third, and fourth commandments of the first table: for some laws may be applied to more precepts than one of the ten commandments. But this is easy and plain to be perceived of every man: therefore I will not stand any longer about it.

The laws of judges.

Now for because the judicial laws do first of all require

judges, such, I mean, as should maintain and put the laws in execution (for the laws without executors seem to be dead, and on the other side are alive under a just magistrate, who is for that cause called the living law[1]); therefore before all other laws are placed those judicial laws which were given by God touching the magistrate or judges, with their office and election. Of their election thus we read: "Bring ye," [Deut. i. 13.] saith Moses to the people, "men of wisdom and of understanding, and expert[2], according to your tribes, and I will make them rulers over you." Again: "I will make thee[3] [Deut. xvi. 18.] rulers and judges to judge the people, according to thy tribes, in all thy cities which the Lord thy God giveth thee." And yet again more plainly: "Seek" (saith Jethro, being [Exod. xviii. 21—23.] inspired from above, unto Moses) "out of all the people men of courage, and such as fear God, true men, hating covetousness," (to wit, such as hate to take money and bribes), "and make of them over the people rulers of thousands, rulers of hundreds, rulers of fifties, and rulers of tens: and let them judge the people at all seasons. Which if thou dost, thou shalt both keep the ordinances of God[4], and the people in peace and safety." To this doth belong that which we read in the book of Numbers, where Moses prayed, saying: "Let [Num. xxvii. 16—23.] the God of the spirits of all flesh set a man over this congregation, which may go out and in before them; that the congregation of the Lord be not as sheep without a shepherd." Herein Moses hath left an example for us to imitate, in making our prayers to God for the election of our judges. For oftentimes our opinions or judgments of men do utterly deceive us; but the God of spirits doth behold the minds and hearts, and knoweth what every one is in thoughts and inward meaning[5]. He therefore must be besought to give and shew to us not hypocrites to be our judges, but men of truth and virtue. In the same place doth Moses leave to us the description of consecrating new chosen judges: for they were set before the Lord, and hands were laid upon them

[1 See Vol. I. p. 339.]

[2 spectatæ probitatis viros, Lat.; men of tried probity. Heb. and Auth. Ver. *known*. Vulg. quorum conversatio sit probata.]

[3 Constitues tibi, Lat.; thou shalt make thee.]

[4 servabis instituta Dei, Lat.; implebis imperium Dei, et præcepta ejus poteris sustentare, Vulg.]

[5 intus et in cute, Lat.]

with making of prayers and supplications. Moreover the office of judge is very briefly, but yet in most effectual and absolute sentences, described of the Lord, by the mouth of
[Deut. i. 16, 17.] Moses, in these words: "Hear the causes of your brethren, and judge righteously betwixt every man and his brother, and the stranger that is with him. Ye shall have no respect of any person[1] in judgment: but hear the small and the great alike; and fear not the face of any man: for the judgment
[Deut. xvi. 18—20.] is God's." Again: "Judge the people with just judgment. Decline not in judgment[2]: have no respect of persons, neither take thou any bribes; for rewards do blind the eyes of the wise, and doth pervert just causes. Do judgment with justice, that thou mayest live, and possess the land which the
[Lev. xix. 15.] Lord thy God shall give thee." And again: "Do no unjust thing in judgment; accept not the face of the poor, neither fear thou the face of the mighty, but judge thou justly unto thy neighbour." Again: "Thou shalt not have to do with a false report; thou shalt not follow a multitude to do evil; neither shalt thou speak in a matter of justice according to the greater number for to pervert judgment:" that is, if thou seest an innocent to be condemned of the multitude, do not thou therefore condemn him because the multitude hath condemned him; but judge thou justly, and commit not evil
[Exod. xxiii. 1—3, 6, 7, 9.] because of the many voices of the multitude. "Thou shalt not esteem a poor man in his cause: neither shalt thou hinder the poor of his right in his suit. Keep thee far from a false matter; and the innocent and righteous see that thou slay not[3]. Thou shalt not oppress the stranger; seeing ye yourselves were strangers in the land of Egypt."

The institution of a king and of princes.

And God verily, when he had delivered the people from the tyranny of the kings of Egypt, did not put them in subjection to kings again, nor burden them with the tributes which kings are wont to exact of their subjects: for he made them a commonweal, or an aristocracy, which was the most excellent kind of regiment, wherein the choicest men in all

[1 non agnoscetis facies, Lat.; ye shall not acknowledge faces. Auth. Ver. Marg.]

[2 ne flectas judicium, Lat.; thou shalt not wrest judgment. Auth. Ver.]

[3 Non enim justificabo impium, Lat. omitted by the translator; for I will not justify the wicked.]

the multitude were picked out to bear the sway and to rule the rest: but yet because he was not ignorant of his people's foolishness, and that they, being weary of their liberty, would crave a king (which thing he did afterward also dissuade them from[4] by his servant Samuel), he made laws for a king also, that he might understand that he was to live under the laws, and to give judgment according to the laws. The discipline or institution of a king is thus expressed in the seventeenth chapter of Deuteronomy: "When thou art come into the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee, and shalt say, I will set a king over me, like as all the nations that are about me; then thou shalt make him king over thee, whom the Lord thy God shall choose. One from among the midst of thy brethren shalt thou make king over thee; and thou mayest not set a stranger over thee, which is not of thy brethren. But he shall not gather many horses unto himself, nor bring the people back again into Egypt, to increase the number of horses;" that is, to get himself a strong troop of horsemen: "forasmuch as the Lord hath said, Ye shall henceforth go no more again that way. Also let him not take many wives to himself, lest his heart turn away: neither let him gather too much silver and gold. And when he is set upon the seat of his kingdom, he shall write him out a copy of this law in a book, according to the copy of the book which the priests the Levites do use: and it shall be with him, and he ought to read therein all the days of his life; that he may learn to fear the Lord his God, and to keep all the words of this law, and these ordinances, for to do them. And let not his heart arise above his brethren, neither let him turn from the commandment, either to the right hand or to the left; that he may prolong his days in his kingdom, both he, and his sons, in the midst of Israel." 1 Sam. viii.

Thus much hitherto of the magistrates, of judges, and of kings.

Now I suppose that in this institution of a king all things are contained, which are most largely set out by other authors touching the discipline and education of a prince. And by the way this is especially to be noted; that kings are not set as lords and rulers over the word and laws of God; but are,

[4 multis et validis rationibus, Lat. omitted; with many and powerful reasons.]

as subjects, to be judged of God by the word, as they that ought to rule and govern all things according to the rule of his word and commandment.

And here I have to rehearse unto you some of the judicial laws; I mean, not all and every several one, but those alone which are the chief and choicest to be noted: by which ye may consider of the rest, and plainly perceive, that the people of Israel were not destitute of any law which was necessary and profitable for their good state and welfare. I will recite them unto you as briefly as may be, and in as natural and plain an order as possibly can be.

Holy things. Of the holy buildings, of the not making away of such things as were consecrated to the Lord, and finally, of the maintaining and publishing of true religion, there is large speech everywhere throughout the whole scripture. Neither do I think it to be greatly to the purpose word by word to recite all the laws, nor particularly to make mention of all the commandments touching those matters. Verily, of the heathen, and of the overthrowing of their temples and superstitious holy toys, this commandment is briefly given by the [Deut. vii. 1—6.] Lord himself: "When the Lord thy God hath cast out many nations before thee, thou shalt root them out; neither shalt thou make league with them, nor pity them, nor join affinity with them: because they will seduce thy sons to serve strange gods; and so my fury wax hot against thee, and I destroy thee. But this shalt thou do to them: ye shall dig down their altars, ye shall break their idols[1], ye shall cut down their groves, and burn their images with fire. For an holy people art thou unto the Lord thy God; and the Lord thy God hath chosen thee to be a peculiar people unto himself." The same law is set down in the twenty-third of Exodus, and is again repeated in the twelfth of Deuteronomy. Hereunto Idolatry. belong the laws that were published against idols and images. In the nineteenth of Leviticus the Lord saith: "Look not back to idols, neither make you molten gods: I am the Lord your God." Also in the twenty-sixth chapter: "Ye shall make you no idols nor graven image, neither rear you up any pillar, neither shall ye set you up any image of stone[2] in your land,

[1 statuas, Lat.; statues, or pillars. Auth. Ver. Marg.]

[2 lapidem figuratum, Lat.; a stone of picture, or figured stone. Auth. Ver. Marg.]

to bow down unto it: for I am the Lord your God." Again in the sixteenth of Deuteronomy: "Thou shalt plant no grove of any trees nigh unto the altar of the Lord thy God: neither shalt thou set thee up any image, which the Lord thy God hateth." There are, beside these, also many other laws to this end and purpose in every place through all the volume of the scriptures.

Of the well handling and entreating of the poor, of widows[3], of orphans, and strangers, the Lord giveth this commandment: "Ye shall not afflict the widow, nor the fatherless. But if ye go on to afflict them, without doubt they shall cry to me, and I will assuredly hear them, and will be angry with you, and will slay you with the sword, and your wives shall be widows, and your children fatherless." To this belongeth a good part of the fifteenth chapter of Deuteronomy. In the twenty-fourth chapter the Lord saith: "Do not pervert the judgment of the stranger, of the fatherless, and of the widow. Remember that thou wast a stranger in the land of Egypt." The poor. [Exod. xxii. 22—24.]

Of the receiving and refusing of witnesses and their witness-bearings in judgment these few notes are given in the law: "One witness shall not be of force against a man, whatsoever his sin or offence shall be: but in the mouth of two or three witnesses shall every word be established. If a false witness rise up against a man, to accuse him of trespass, the judges shall make diligent inquisition; and if they find that the witness hath borne false witness against his brother, then shall they do to him as he had thought to have done to his brother; and thou shalt put evil away from out of the midst of thee." Witness and witness-bearings. [Deut. xix. 15, 16, 18, 19.]

Now, for the oath which the judges have to exact, or they that are at variance, or else the witnesses, have to take, that doth the Lord command to be done by the calling to record of his holy Name, and that too of none other but his name alone. Deuteron. x. &c.

Moreover, that in effect is a kind of appeal, where Moses doth so often bid the judges in an hard and doubtful matter to have recourse unto the high priest, and so, as it were, to God himself, or the oracle of God, for the declaration of the same; as is to be seen in the eighteenth chapter of Exodus, and in the first and seventeenth chapter of Deuteronomy. An appeal.

[3 pupillis, Lat. omitted; fatherless.]

Marriage. Of lawful wedlock, against incestuous and unprofitable marriages, and also of the degrees of consanguinity and affinity, there are exquisite precepts as well in the eighteenth chapter of Leviticus, as also in other places of the books of Moses. Verily, where lawful marriages are not, there is no matrimony: therefore the children that are so born are counted bastards; neither is there for them any dowries or inheritance.

Parents and children. The Lord in many places of his law doth charge parents to bring up their children honestly, and to instruct them in the fear of God. Among the rest he saith: "The words which I command thee this day thou shalt shew unto thy children, and shalt talk of them when thou art at home in thine house, and as thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up. And thou shalt bind them for a sign upon thine hand, and they shall be as frontlets betwixt thine eyes; and thou shalt write them upon the posts of thine house, and upon thy gates, &c."

[Deut. vi. 6—9.]

Again, for the honouring, reverencing, and nourishing of parents, there are not in the moral law only, but also in the judicial laws, some things set down wherein the honour and duty to be given to parents is diligently commended to all sorts of people: of which I will speak when I come to treat of parricide, under which title I do comprehend the evil handling and naughty demeanour of men to their parents.

Of the power and authority of fathers. Now, how great the authority of fathers over their children was, we may conjecture by that especially, where, in the twenty-first of Exodus, it is permitted to the father, that is in poverty, to sell his daughter. Again, in another place, leave is given to the father either to deny, or else to give, his deflowered daughter in marriage to him that did defile her. And again, it was in the father's power to break the vow[1] which the child had made without his knowledge or consent, Numbers xxx. But that to disinherit the children (if the children had not deserved it, but that some corrupt affection had blinded the parents) lay not in the power or will of the parents, that law doth shew, which is published in the twenty-first chapter of Deuteronomy; and doth forbid the father to place the second in the right of his eldest or first-begotten son.

[Exod. xxii. 16, 17.]

Disinheriting.

Inheritance. Concerning the coming to inheritance, and the succession

[1 Deo nuncupatum, Lat.; made to God.]

of goods, or the lawful succession by kindred, there is a precise law in the twenty-seventh chapter of the book of Numbers. There is set down the case of the daughters of Zelphad, who did request that their father's name should not be wiped out, but that their father's inheritance and name might be given unto and still remain with them. Upon that occasion was the law made, that if the sons did die, the heritage should be conveyed over and given to the daughters, or, at leastwise, to those that were nearest of affinity. And thereunto belongeth the law of raising seed unto the deceased brother, and the whole thirty-sixth chapter almost of the book of Numbers. Upon this law also doth hang the right which cometh by adoption.

Whoredom and adultery.

Furthermore, of whoredoms, adulteries, and the ravishing of virgins, there are many profitable, honest, and wholesome laws. In the twenty-third of Deuteronomy it is said, "There shall be no whore of the daughters of Israel, nor whoremonger of the sons of Israel." And in the same place he forbiddeth to bring oblations which are the price of an harlot's hire. In Leviticus charge is given, saying: "Set not out thy daughter for hire, to make her play the harlot; lest the land be defiled, and filled with sin." [Lev. xix. 29.] Therefore, in the twenty-second of Deuteronomy, the maid that was deflowered, and yet feigned herself to be a virgin still, when she was given to an husband, was commanded to be stoned to death before the doors of her father's house; to the end that parents, being terrified with so grievous a thing, might be stirred up to look more warily unto their children. In the twenty-second of Exodus this law is given: "If a man entice a maid that is not betrothed, and lie with her, he shall endow her and take her to wife." There are most sharp laws against whoredoms and adulteries, Deuteronomy xxii.; for there adulterers are punished with death. The same punishment was appointed for him that did by violence ravish a virgin.

For suspicions and jealousy there are rules given in the fifth chapter of Numbers. Against detestable, unlawful, and altogether devilish lusts, there are most severe and yet most just laws expressed; as against most filthy incest, abominable sodomy, horrible and unnatural bestiality, and such sins as God hath cursed, and are not once worthy to be named among men. Levit. eighteenth and twentieth chapters.

Divorcements.

Divorcements and separations were permitted by the law in the twenty-fourth of Deuteronomy, for nothing else but for the hardness of the Jewish people's hearts, and for the avoiding of some greater inconvenience; to wit, lest peradventure any man should poison, strangle, or otherwise kill the woman, his wife, which he hated, when he could by none other means rid his hands of her. And they that were in that manner divorced might at their pleasures be married to others.

[Matt. xix. 8.]

The division of goods.

Moreover, that justice might be maintained, and that every man might enjoy his own, in the law there was charge very diligently given for the division of things, for the partition of the land of promise by equal portions, and for the peculiar possession of proper goods; that to every tribe possessions might be given by lot, and that no man should by any means make away the possessions which were given him. For hereunto belongeth that which is spoken by Moses in the thirty-second, thirty-third, thirty-fourth chapters of the book of Numbers, and oftentimes in other places also.

Buying and selling, &c.

And yet notwithstanding, this law was nothing prejudicial to traffic by exchange. For there were many and very upright laws published for buying and selling, for letting and hiring, for borrowing and lending, for usury and things left in custody. Whosoever desireth to see the places in the law, he shall have them in the twenty-fifth of Leviticus, in the twenty-second of Exodus, in the fifteenth and twenty-third chapters of Deuteronomy. And I suppose that to this is to be referred the law which is given concerning pawns or pledges: "If thou hast taken thy neighbour's garment to pledge, thou shalt restore it him again before the sun be set. For that is his only covering:" that is, it is the garment wherewith he covereth his flesh, and wherein he sleepeth. "For it shall come to pass, that if he cry to me, I will hear him; because I am merciful." Again; "Thou shalt not take the nether or upper mill-stone to pledge: for he hath laid that whereon he liveth to pledge to thee."

Pawns and pledges.

[Exod xxii. 26, 27.]

[Deut. xxiv. 6.]

Things left in custody.

The laws for things left in custody, or committed to the credit of another man, and for taking of oaths, commandeth every man to make true restitution of the thing which was given unto him to keep. But if it were stolen away from him to whom the custody of it was committed, then he that

kept it ought to purge himself by an oath before a magistrate, to shew that he consented not to the conveying of the thing away. The same order is commanded to be observed in things borrowed, that are lost, or otherwise broken: as is to be seen in the twenty-second chapter of Exodus.

Bondage. And for because it is manifest that no small part of the goods of the ancient Israelites did consist in the multitude of bondmen, therefore the law of God doth stick long upon the discourse of bondage and bondmen, and of the binding and manumission of them. And yet it doth diligently command to handle bondmen mercifully like men, and every sixth year[1] to set them free from slavery. But if it so fell out, that at the sixth year's end any bondman were desirous to stay still in his master's house, he was permitted so to do, upon condition that his voluntary bondage should be confirmed by the ceremony of mancipation; to wit, that the bondman, being brought before the judges, should there testify that he would serve in bondage voluntarily; and thereupon the nether lap of his ear should be bored with an awl, and fastened to the door. And that was the sign or token of faith and obedience. For David, alluding thereunto, did say, that the Lord had bored through his ear, that is, that by faith he had bound him to obedience.

Mancipation. [Exod. xxi. 1—6]

Manumission. Moreover, the Lord did in these laws limit out the time of bondmen's manumission, because the lords of bondmen should not use them over-cruelly for their gain and commodity's sake: all which are at full set down in the twenty-first chapter of Exodus. We must also refer that to the clemency that ought to be shewed to servants, where as in the twenty-third chapter of Deuteronomy it is said: "Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which is escaped from his master unto thee; but let him dwell in any place whereunto he is fled." And yet manstealing is most sharply forbidden. Now they commit the offence called Plagium[2], that is to say, manstealing, whosoever do entice other men's bondmen to run from their masters, or which do, by theft or robbery, steal other men's servants, whom they do either keep to themselves, or else sell to others. Against such this law is given: "Whosoever stealeth a man, and selleth him, if he be

Plagium. [Exod. xxi. 16.]

[1 sexennio finito, Lat.]

[2 See above, page 47.]

convinced of the crime, let him die the death." And the same law is again repeated in the twenty-fourth of Deuteronomy.

Bastards. Of free men little is said in the law; but they were exempted from bearing office in the commonwealth, which were known to be harlots' children, whose fathers[1] no man knew. Strangers also, as the Ammonites and Moabites, were utterly barred from rule and authority in the Israelitish weal public. Deuteronomy xxiii.

All deceit, cozening, robbery, shiftings, and subtil crafts, are flatly forbidden in the law under the title of theft. For in the nineteenth of Leviticus we read: "Ye shall not steal, nor deal falsely, nor lie one to another." And in the nineteenth of Deuteronomy: "Thou shalt not remove thy neighbour's meerstone[2]." In the twenty-second of Exodus the Lord doth punish theft with four or five-fold double restitution: which whosoever did not perform, he was sold, and brought into extreme bondage. But if the stolen thing were found with the thief, and recovered again, then did the stealer restore to the owner double the value of that which was stolen. To this law belonged whatsoever was spoken concerning sacrilege, stealing of cattle, robbing of the common treasury, and carrying away of other men's bond-slaves; of which I spake somewhat a little before[3]. And to this doth appertain that excellent law which saith: "Thou shalt not deny, nor keep back, the wages of an hired servant that is poor and needy, whether he be of thy brethren, or of the strangers that are within thy land; thou shalt give him his hire the same day[4], and that before the sun go down; because he is needy, and doth therewith sustain his life[5]: lest he cry against thee unto the Lord, and it be sin unto thee."

Theft and deceit. Restitution.

Sacrilege.

The hireling's wages. [Deut. xxiv. 14, 15.]

The doing and receiving of damage. [Exod. xxi. 33, 34.]

Concerning doing and receiving damage, and the making of full restitution for the harm that is done, there are many constitutions in the law of the Lord. "If any man," saith

[1 and whose, Lat.] [2 mere: a boundary. Johnson.]

[3 sacrilegium, abigeatum, et peculatum, Lat. See above, p. 44-48.]

[4 die suo, Lat.; at his day. Auth. Ver.]

[5 Sustentat ex eo vitam suam, Lat. So Vulg. and Coverdale, 1535, "and his life (is) susteyned therwith." Ainsworth in loc.: "And unto it he lifteth up his soul; that is, hopeth for and desireth it for the maintenance of his life."]

the law, "doth dig a well, and do not cause it to be covered, so that an ox or a sheep of another man's do fall into it; then let him that owneth the well take to himself the beast that perished, and pay the worth of the beast to him that is the owner thereof." The like law is made in the twenty-first of Exodus touching an ox that pusheth with his horns. In the twenty-second chapter is given the law of restitution in giving like for like; if either one man's pasture be eaten up by another man's cattle, or if one man hurt another's corn or vineyard. For the law commandeth to restore other pasturings, other corn-ground, and other vineyards, not of the worst, but of the best, to him that had the damage done him. Likewise if any man had set thorns on fire, and by his negligence had suffered it to catch hold upon corn, either standing in the field upright, or stacked up in mows[6] at home; then he, by whose negligence the fire began, did make amends for the loss that the other received. The same law is again repeated in the twenty-fourth of Leviticus. In the twenty-second of Deuteronomy there are many things expressed that must be referred unto this title: of which sort is the law that biddeth us to bring back the ox that goeth astray, and to restore the things that are found to him that lost them; to keep our buildings in good reparations, that by misfortune in the fall of them our brethren be not mischieved. And like to these is the law also which saith: "Thou shalt have a place without the host to go forth unto; and shalt bear a paddle-stick at thy girdle, wherewith as thou sittest thou shalt dig a hole to hide thy ordure, or cover thine excrements in." And in the civil law the like matter in effect is handled[7]: for very necessity doth require, that in commonweals there should be laws concerning draughts, and order of buildings, so that no man by his excrements or building of new houses should trouble or annoy his neighbours about him. To this place, also, we may add the laws that were made concerning the separating of lepers from them that were clean, lest peradventure the contagious disease should by little and little infect the healthful. The laws of lepers and the leprosy are

[Exod. xxii. 5, 6. Lev. xxiv. 18—21.]

[Deut. xxiii. 12, 13.]

[6 mow, a heap of corn or hay; when laid up in a house, said to be in *mow;* when heaped together in a field, in *rick.* Johnson's Dict.]

[7 Codex Justin. Lib. VIII. tit. 10, de ædificiis privatis. Tom. II. Lugd. 1551.]

at large set down in the thirteenth and fourteenth chapters of Leviticus.

Weight and measure.

Just weights and just measures the Lord commanded to be kept in the law, where he saith: "Thou shalt not have in thy bag two manner of weights, a great and a small: neither shalt thou have in thine house divers measures, a great and a small. But thou shalt have a right and a just weight, and a perfect and a just measure shalt thou have: that thy days may be lengthened in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee. For all that do such things, and all that deal unrightly, are abomination unto the Lord thy God." This law is given in the twenty-fifth of Deuteronomy, and is again repeated in the nineteenth chapter of Leviticus.

The punishment of the guilty.

Of public judgments, of witchcrafts, and the punishment of offenders, there are many laws set down in the book of the Lord. "Thou shalt not," saith the Lord, "suffer witches to live." Again: "The fathers shall not be killed for the sons, nor the sons for the fathers: but every one shall be slain for his own offence." Neither doth the law conceal the manner of killing: for it giveth the use of the sword, of stones, and of fire, into the magistrate's hands. And sometime it is left to the judge's discretion to punish the offender according to the circumstance of the crime committed, either in body or goods, in loss of limbs or life, in scourging with rods, or selling into bondage. In the twentieth chapter of Leviticus all the offences are almost reckoned up that are to be punished with present death. And in like manner the like are repeated in the eighteenth and twenty-first chapter of the same book.

[Exod. xxii. 18; Deut. xxiv. 16.]

Witches and soothsayers.

Against witches and soothsayers[1] there is precise charge given in the eighteenth of Deuteronomy. In the nineteenth of Leviticus this short precept is given: "Ye shall not seek after witches, nor observe your dreams: ye shall not decline to sorcerers, nor inquire of soothsayers to be defiled by them." Against such the law doth expressly give judgment of death and extreme punishment, Leviticus xx. In the twenty-second of Exodus this strait sentence is sharply pronounced: "Let not a woman live that is a witch."

Heretics and false prophets.

Against heretics, schismatics, apostates, and false prophets, the law giveth judgment in the thirteenth and eighteenth

[1 Mathematicis, Lat. See Vol. I. p. 221, note 7.]

chapters of Deuteronomy; where it doth most plainly teach how such kind of people are to be handled. And like to this is the law for the stoning of blasphemers, which is contained in the twenty-fourth of Leviticus; and also the law for contemners and breakers of the Lord's sabbath, Numbers xv.

Rebels and slanderers.

Against seditious rebels and secret slanderers there is much to be found in many places of the law. Chore, Dathan, and Abirom were rebels, of whose ends ye may read in the sixteenth of the book of Numbers. If any man did maliciously bring up a slander upon his wife's chastity, and was not able to prove it true, he was merced at a sum of money, or punished with stripes, as is to be seen in the twenty-second of Deuteronomy. In the nineteenth of Leviticus this precept is given: "Thou shalt not go up and down with tales among thy people: neither shalt thou hate thy brother in thine heart; but shalt rebuke him and tell him thy mind plainly." Also in the twenty-second of Exodus it is said, "Thou shalt not rail upon the gods (or judges[1]), nor blaspheme the ruler of thy people."

Murder.

Moreover there are sundry kinds of murder, whereof some are greater or smaller than other. The most detestable murder of all is parricide, (when one killeth his father or his kinsman[2]), under which we do comprehend the evil-entreating or currish handling of parents by their children. "Whosoever striketh father or mother, or curseth them," saith the law, "let him die the death." Again, they are bidden to kill the rebel that dareth stand up to resist the upright decrees and holy ordinances of the elders, Deuteronomy xvii. And also in the twenty-first of Deuteronomy we find: "If any man have a stubborn, a froward, and rebellious son, that will not hearken to the voice of his father, and the voice of his mother, and they have chastened him, and he would not hearken unto them: then shall his father and his mother take him, and bring him out unto the elders of that city, and to the gate of that place; and say unto the elders of the city, This our son is stubborn and disobedient, and will not hearken to our voice; he is a rioter and a drunkard: and straightway all the men of that city shall stone him with stones until he die: and thou shalt put evil from thee: and all Israel shall hear and fear."

[Exod. xxi. 15, 17.]

[2 The translator's addition.]

Furthermore, murder is either committed willingly or else unwillingly. Of murder unwillingly committed there is an example in the nineteenth chapter of Deuteronomy, where the case is put as followeth: Two friends go to the wood to hew wood together; and as the one fetcheth his stroke, the head of the axe falleth from the helve, and striketh the other so that he dieth upon it. This deed the Lord doth neither impute, nor would have it to be imputed to the man, but to himself; and therefore he giveth licence to the man to fly unto the sanctuary. For his mind was that the sanctuaries should be a safeguard to such kind of people as killed men unwillingly, and not to bladers[1] and cutters, not to them that poison, or otherwise kill their neighbours of a set pretence or purpose[2]: of which there is much to be seen in the thirty-fifth of Numbers, the fourth and the nineteenth chapters of Deuteronomy. To the law for murder unwillingly committed doth the case belong[3] that is thus put forth: Two men fight together, and in their fight they strike a woman with child, so that either she falleth in travail before her time, or else doth presently die out of hand. In such a case what is to be done, the Lord did teach in the twenty-first of Exodus, where the law of like for like is also set down: "An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, a hand for a hand," &c. In the same place, also, is put another kind of murder, which is committed either by thy beast, as by thine ox that pusheth with his horns, or by thy wolf, or by thy dog that thou keepest in thine house; or else by some instrument, or building, that is in thy possession. Now thou didst either know, or not know, the fierceness of thy beast, the peril in thine instrument, or the rottenness of thy building. If thou knewest it not, thou wast then excused: but if thou knewest it, and didst not seek a way to prevent the mischief, the Lord gave charge that thou shouldest die for it. But if of clemency it were granted thee to redeem thy life, thou shouldest not refuse to pay any sum of money, how great soever it were.

The sanctuary.

Now wilful murder, committed upon pretended malice[4],

[1 bladers, latronibus, Lat.]

[2 non veneficis aut parricidis, Lat.] [3 etiam, Lat.; also.]

[4 quæ fit voluntate destinata per insidias aut malevolentiam, Lat.; which is perpetrated of set purpose by lying in wait or malice.]

is utterly unpardonable in the law of God. "Such an one," saith the law, "thou shalt pull from mine altar, that he may be killed." In this case redemption of life is not permitted, but the blood of the murderer is straitly required. Many cases of this severity, and many other things tending to this end, are to be read in the thirty-fifth chapter of Numbers and the twenty-first of Exodus. In the twenty-first of Deuteronomy is described the action, partly ceremonial, and partly judicial, which was solemnized when any man was found to be slain, and no man knew who was the murderer; where also the manner is prescribed, how to make an atonement for the murder: whereby we may gather how horrible a sin murder is in the sight of God and the catholic church. [Exod. xxi. 14.]

Lastly, the law doth not leave the order of war untouched: for it giveth precepts concerning the beginning, the making, and the ending of war; which are to be read in the twentieth chapter of Deuteronomy. Moreover in the law there are set out the examples of terrible wars; as that with the Amalachites in the seventeenth of Exodus, and that with the Madianites in the thirty-first of the book of Numbers: where somewhat also is said touching the division of spoils gotten in the wars. War.

I know, my brethren, that I have been somewhat tedious unto you in making this rehearsal of the laws unto you: but for because the most wise and mighty God doth nothing without especial causes and the evident profit of mankind, I could not therefore suffer this part of the law to pass me untouched; considering that I see it so diligently taught by God himself, and that it maketh much to the opening and maintaining of the moral law. Our good God, who knoweth all things, doth also know the dulness and overthwart slackness of man's wit, and how it requireth to be driven perforce many times to do good and eschew evil. And therefore the holy Lord hath in these judicial laws added an holy kind of compulsion to drive men on withal. Conclusion.

In the morals he frameth our manners, and teacheth us what to do, and what to leave undone. With the ceremonials he helpeth forward the morals; and doth under types and figures lay before the eyes of our body and mind the mysteries of God[5] and his heavenly kingdom. And lastly, by

[5 mysteria regni Dei, Lat.]

the judicials he compelleth us to the keeping of the laws, and doth preserve the integrity of the same. Now all these together do tend to this end only, that man may be saved, that he worship God aright, and live according to the will of the Lord.

Thus much have I spoken hitherto, by the help of God, concerning his holy laws. Now let us praise the goodness of the Lord, who doth not suffer his people to lack any thing that is necessary for their commodity; and doth even at this day instruct us with these laws to the glory of his name and health of our souls.

OF THE USE OR EFFECT OF THE LAW OF GOD, AND OF THE FULFILLING AND ABROGATING OF THE SAME: OF THE LIKENESS AND DIFFERENCE OF BOTH THE TESTAMENTS AND PEOPLE, THE OLD AND THE NEW.

THE EIGHTH SERMON.

ALTHOUGH I have hitherto in large sermons laid forth[1] the law of God by several parts, yet methinketh I have not said all that should be said, nor made an end as I should do, unless I add now a treatise of the use, effect, fulfilling, and abrogating of the law of God; albeit I have here and there in my sermons[2] touched the same argument. Now by this discourse or treatise, dearly beloved, ye shall understand, that the Testament of the old and new church of God is all one; and that there is but one means of true salvation for all them that either have or else at this present are saved in the world: ye shall also perceive wherein the old Testament[3] doth differ from the new. Moreover this treatise will be necessary and very profitable both to the understanding of many places in the holy scripture, and also to the easy perceiving and most wholesome use of those things which I have said hitherto touching the law. God, who is the author, the

[1 qua potui diligentia, Lat.; with my best diligence.]
[2 in hisce nostris sermonibus, Lat.]
[3 quid novum testamentum differat a veteri, Lat.]

wisdom, and the perfect fulness of the law, give me grace to speak those things that are to the setting forth of his glory, and profitable for the health of your[4] souls.

The use of God's law is manifold and of sundry sorts; and yet it may be called back to three especial points, and we may say that the use thereof is threefold or of three sorts. Of the use and effect of God's law.

For first of all, the chief and proper office of the law is, to convince all men to be guilty of sin, and by their own fault to be the children of death. For the law of God setteth forth to us the holy will of God; and, in the setting forth thereof, requireth of us a most perfect and absolute kind of righteousness. And for that cause the law is wont to be called the testimony of God's will, and the most perfect exemplar of his divine pureness. And hereunto belong those words of the Lord in the gospel, where he, reciting shortly the sum of God's commandments, doth say: "The first of all the commandments is: Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord: and thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength. This is the first commandment. And the second is like to this, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. There is none other commandment greater than these." Therefore to this doth also appertain that saying of the apostle Paul: "The end of the commandment is charity out of a pure heart, and a good conscience, and faith unfeigned." But since the law doth require at all our hands most absolute righteousness, charity, and[5] a pure heart, it doth[6] condemn all men of sin, unrighteousness, and death. For in the law of God it is expressly said: "Cursed is every one which abideth not in all that is written in the book of the law to do it." But what one of us fulfilleth all the points of the law? What man, I pray, either heretofore hath had, or at this day[7] hath, a pure heart within him? What man hath ever loved, or doth now love, God with all his heart, with all his soul, and with all his mind? What man is he that did never lust after evil? Or who is it now that lusteth not every day? Therefore imperfection and sin is by the law, or by the bewraying of the

Absolute perfectness is required of us in the law. [Mark xii. 29—31.]

[1 Tim. i. 5.]

[Deut. xxvii. 26; Gal. iii. 10.]

No man living is perfect and unspotted.

[4 nostrarum, Lat.; our.]

[5 adeoque, Lat.; and so a.]

[6 certe, Lat. undoubtedly.]

[7 etiam hodie, Lat.]

law[1], revealed in mankind[2]. What shall we say to this? Where, I pray you, doth there appear in any man that divine and most absolute righteousness, which the law requireth? Job crieth, "I know verily that a man, compared to God, cannot be justified[3]." Or, "How shall a man be found right-
[Job ix. 2, 3, 15.] eous, if he be compared to God? If he will argue with him, he shall not be able to answer one for a thousand. [4]If I have any righteousness in me, I will not answer him, but I will beseech my judge." Likewise, these[5] are the words of the apostle John, who saith: "If we say we have no sin, we
[1 John i. 8, 10.] deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us." Again, "If we say we have not sinned, we make him a liar, and his word is not in us." Therefore by this means the law is a certain
The law doth make our sins manifest, and bring our misery to light. looking-glass, wherein we behold our own corruption, frailness, imbecility, imperfection, and our judgment, that is, our just and deserved damnation. For the apostle doth expressly say, that the law was given to the end that it might make manifest men's transgressions, and by that means drive them to the acknowledging of their imperfection and guilt in sinning. For none of us doth look into his own bosom, nor into the secrets of his own breast, but we do all flatter ourselves, and will not be persuaded that our thoughts and deeds[6] are so corrupt as they be in very deed; and therefore doth the law creep in, and lay open the secrets of our hearts, and bringeth to light our sin and corruption. "Before the law," saith the apostle, "although sin were in the world, yet was it not imputed[7]."
[Rom. iv. 15; iii. 20.] The same apostle also saith: "The law worketh wrath; for where there is no law, there is no transgression." And again, "By the law cometh the knowledge of sin." For in the seventh to the Romans the same apostle doth say more fully: "I knew not sin, but by the law: for I had not known lust, except the law had said, Thou shalt not lust. But sin, taking

[1 indicio legis, Lat.]

[2 ut non dicam hic aliud gravius, Lat. omitted; not to allege here any severer charge.]

[3 So the Vulgate; and Coverdale, 1535.]

[4 item, Lat.; again.]

[5 succinit huic, Lat.; like to these, ed. 1577.]

[6 res nostras, Lat.]

[7 non imputabatur, vel reputabatur, Lat.; or not considered, Rom. v. 13.]

occasion[8] by the commandment, wrought in me all manner of concupiscence. For without the law sin was dead. I once lived without law; but when the commandment came, sin revived, and I was dead[9]. And it was found, that the same commandment, which was ordained unto life, was unto me an occasion of death, &c." For a good part of that chapter is spent in that matter. Therefore the proper office of Moses, and the principal use and effect of the law, is to shew to man his sin and imperfection[10].

Moses doth not only slay, nor the law only kill.

As for those which stay here, and go no further to make any other use and effect of the law, but as though Moses did nothing but kill, and the law nothing but slay; they are diversly, and that not lightly, deceived. I do here again repeat it, and tell them, that the very proper office of the law is, to make sin manifest; and also that Moses his chief office is, to teach us what we have to do, and with threatenings and cursings to urge it, especially when the law is compared with the gospel. For in the third chapter of the second epistle to the Corinthians Paul calleth the law the letter; and immediately after, the ministration of death; then again, he calleth it a doctrine written in letters and ink, and[11] figured in tables of stone, which should not endure, but perish and decay. The same apostle, on the other side again[12], doth call the gospel the ministration or doctrine of the Spirit, which endureth and decayeth not, which is written in men's hearts, and giveth life to the believers[13]. Whereupon we do freely confess, that the law doth properly make manifest our infirmity[14]; but the gospel giveth a medicine, and a remedy to that which was almost past hope.

And now here we must think that our holy ancestors had not the law, alone to convince them of sin; nor Moses, to do nothing else but kill and slay; nor that Moses was given to wound them, but to heal them[15]: and that, not by his own power or virtue, but by the guiding of them to him that cherisheth the contrite in heart, and healeth all their sor-

[8 occasione accepta, peccatum per præceptum genuit, Lat.; and Erasmus.]
[9 mortuus sum, Lat.] [10 morbum, sive peccatum, Lat.]
[11 rursus, Lat.] [12 protinus, Lat.; and immediately.]
[13 to the believers, not in Lat.] [14 morbum, Lat.]
[15 ut mederetur etiam, Lat.; but to heal also.]

rows: that is Christ Jesus, who also wrought by the ministery of Moses. For we must not think, from the beginning of the world, nor from Moses his time till the coming of Christ[1], that the bare letter was preached only, and that the grace and Spirit of God was idle and wrought not in the minds of the faithful: for in that the law doth shew us, and invincibly prove to us, that in us, I mean, in our flesh, that perfection is not, which the most holy and perfect God doth in his law require of us, it doth therein revoke and pull back mankind (not by the virtue of itself, but by the power of the quickening Spirit of Christ) from confidence of the flesh[2], as that wherein there is no health nor jot of perfection; and so consequently doth give us occasion to turn ourselves to Christ our mediator, who is alone our sanctification and perfection. And so, for this occasion[3], the law is a path and ready way, and, as it were, a schoolmaster[4] given by God to us men, to draw us from all confidence in our own strengths, from all hope of our own merits[5], and from the trust in any kind of creatures, and to lead us directly by faith to Christ, who was made by God (as I said even now) our "righteousness, sanctification, and redemption," without whom there is no salvation under the sun. Therefore Moses did not only urge the law, but did also preach Christ and life in Christ. For the Lord in the gospel saith to the Jews: "Think not that I will accuse you to my Father[6]; there is one that accuseth you, even Moses, in whom ye trust. For if ye had believed Moses, ye would undoubtedly have believed me: for he wrote of me." And Paul to the Galatians saith: "If there had been a law given which could have given life, then no doubt righteousness should have been by the law. But the scripture hath concluded all under sin, that the promise by the faith of Jesus Christ should be given unto them that believe. But before faith came, we were kept under the law, and were shut up into the faith which should afterward be revealed. Wherefore the law was our schoolmaster unto Christ, that we should be jus-

[1 Cor. i. 30.]

Moses doth also lead to Christ. [John v. 45, 46.]

[Gal. iii. 21—24.]

[1 ad Christum usque, Lat.] [2 ab omni carne, Lat.]

[3 juxta hanc concomitantiam vel occasionem, Lat.]

[4 adeoque et pædagogus, Lat.]

[5 ab omni operum nostrorum respectu, Lat.; from all regard of our own works.]

[6 apud Patrem, Lat.]

tified by faith." Lo, what could be said more plainly, than that the law hath concluded all under sin? But to what end? "That the promise by the faith of Christ Jesus should be given unto them that do believe." And again: "Before faith came," that is, before he came to whom our faith is directed, and upon whom it is grounded[7], "we were kept under the law." How? Forsooth, being shut up unto the faith that was to be revealed. Therefore our fathers were shut up in the law, that they should not break out at any time, and seek for life and salvation any where else but in Christ alone. Wherefore the law did lead us[8] by faith directly unto Christ. And yet more plainly he saith: "The law was our schoolmaster unto Christ." Lo, here again the law doth bring us to Christ[9]. And again he addeth; "That we should be justified by faith." Therefore the law setteth forward the true doctrine of justification, teaching plainly that we are justified by faith in Christ, and not by the merits of our own works. In which point it is openly like unto the gospel[10], and taketh to itself the office of the gospel: and no marvel, since to many men, through their own fault, the gospel[11] doth become and is made the letter. Furthermore, the same apostle doth in another place say, that "in sacrifices they called their sins to remembrance," and we know that in them was prefigured[12] the purging of sins. Therefore even the ceremonial laws also led them to Christ, testifying and teaching them that he alone doth cleanse us from all our sins. Whereupon I conclude that the office of Moses and of the law both was and is, to open to us our sin and judgment; and yet not to condemn us only, but also by occasion to lead us to Christ.

[Heb. x. 2, 3.]

By which we learn also, that the law doth not only teach us the first principles and rudiments of righteousness, but the very true and absolute righteousness. For Moses doth expressly say, that he taught a most perfect and absolute kind of doctrine, as that wherein both life and death doth wholly consist. And the apostle saith, that the law leadeth

The law teacheth perfect righteousness.

[Deut. xxx. 15.]

[7 See Vol. I. Addend. in pag. 112, line 32.]
[8 us, not in Lat.] [9 En, ducit lex ad Christum etiam, Lat.]
[10 miscetur evangelio, Lat.]
[11 ipsum evangelium, Lat.; the gospel itself.]
[12 also prefigured, Lat.]

us by the hand to Christ, that we should be justified by faith. Now the righteousness of faith is the most perfect righteousness. Therefore, whereas the precepts of the law are in some places called the rudiments of the world[1], that is for two especial causes: the first whereof is, because the law is, as it were, the first instructions or elements, which, when the doctrine of the gospel cometh, is finished, and giveth place to it as to more absolute principles; the latter cause is, because ceremonies are taught under outward things or signs, when as in those outward things they do prefigure, and set forth to be seen, the inward things, even Christ himself and his holy mysteries.

The precepts of the law are the rudiments of the world.

And out of that which I have hitherto said we may also learn, that the ancient saints, which lived under the old testament, did not seek for righteousness and salvation in the works of the law, but in him which is the perfectness and end of the law, even Christ Jesus; and therefore that they used the law and the ceremonies as a guide and schoolmistress to lead them by the hand to Christ their Saviour. For so often as they heard that the law required perfect righteousness at their hands, they did by faith through grace[2] understand, that in the law Christ was set forth to be the most absolute righteousness, to whom all men ought to fly for the obtaining of righteousness. So often as they met together in the holy congregation[3], to behold the holy ceremonies which God hath ordained, they did not look upon the bare figures only, nor think that they did please God, and were purged from their sins, by that external kind of worship[4]; but they did cast the eyes of their minds and of faith upon the Messiah to come, who was prefigured in all the ceremonies and ordinances of the law. They therefore did abuse the law, who thought that they were acceptable to God, and that they served him as they should, because they were busy in those ceremonial works. For those thoughts and persuasions the prophets in their sermons did sharply accuse, and evermore cry out upon. And in that sense, and for that cause, the people of Israel is many times called a carnal people: not that all the patriarchs and fathers before the coming of Christ were carnal or fleshly; but for

The kind of righteousness which was in the people of the old ancient world.

A carnal or fleshly people.

[1 Gal. iv. 3. Marg. Coloss. ii. 8, 20.] [2 donata ex gratia, Lat.]
[3 in loco sacro, Lat.] [4 propter cultum illum, Lat.]

because they did as yet live then under those external shadows and outward figures[5]; and for because there were peradventure among the people some that did not perceive the spiritual things shadowed under those external figures, and did think perhaps that they were acceptable to God for the working and doing of that external work[6].

The law frameth the life of man.

The second use and another office of the law is, to teach them that are justified in faith by Christ what to follow and what to eschew, and how the godly and faithful sort should worship[7] God. For the law of God doth comprehend a most absolute doctrine both of faith in God, and also of all good works. For in the first use of the law I declared how the moral and ceremonial law doth teach us faith in God and Christ his Son, and how it bringeth man to the knowledge of himself, that he may understand how that in himself, that is, in the nature of man, there is no good thing nor any life; but that all the gifts of life, of virtues, and salvation, are of God the Father, the only well-spring of all goodness, through Christ his Son our Saviour[8]. In this second argument of the end[9], the use, or office of the law of God, we must acknowledge all the forms of virtues, and the treasure of all goodness[10], to be set forth unto us in the law of the Lord; and that the apostle applieth the precepts of the law to exhortation and consolation. The first of the two tables of the moral law doth teach us what we owe to God, and how he will be worshipped of us: the second table frameth the offices of life, and teacheth us how to behave ourselves toward our neighbour. The ceremonies also do belong to religion[11]; and the judicials teach the government of an house or a commonweal, so that by them we may live honestly among ourselves and holily to God-wards. Therefore the law doth teach all justice, temperance, fortitude, and wisdom, and instructeth a godly man in every good work

[5 elementis et figuris, Lat.]

[6 propter opus externum operatum aut perfectum, Lat. See also Bullinger, adv. Anabapt. Lib. IV. cap. 3.]

[7 rite colant, Lat.]

[8 per Christum, sive Messiam, Lat.]

[9 In præsenti, id est, in consideratione secundi finis, &c. Lat.]

[10 omnium bonorum operum, Lat.]

[11 ad cultum, Lat.; to the worship (of God).]

wherein it is necessary that an holy worshipper of God should be instructed. Wherefore so often as the holy prophets of God would set up again and restore the worship of God and true religion that was decayed; so often as they would cry out upon and rebuke[1] the faults and errors of men; and lastly, when they would teach them to do those good works, which are good works indeed, they led them always[2] unto the law, and cited all their testimonies out of the law. Whereof we have evident examples in the fifteenth Psalm of David, and in the first and thirty-third chapter of Esay's Prophecy, and in the eighteenth of Ezekiel also. Paul in the thirteenth to the Romans referreth all the offices of our life to the law of charity; for the Lord himself, before Paul, had done the same in the gospel. Moreover the prophet David in the ninety-fourth Psalm crieth, "Blessed is the man, O Lord, whom thou instructest in thy law;" and in the seventy-eighth Psalm, "He made a covenant to Jacob, and gave a law in Israel, that the posterity might know it, and put their trust in the Lord, and not forget the works of God, but keep his commandments." Again, in the nineteenth Psalm he saith: "The law of the Lord is an undefiled law, converting the soul: the testimony of the Lord is sure, and giveth wisdom unto the simple: the statutes of the Lord are right, and rejoice the heart: the commandment of the Lord is pure, and giveth light unto the eyes. The fear of the Lord is holy, and endureth for ever: the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether[3]: more to be desired are they than gold and precious stone[4]; and sweeter than honey and the honeycomb." And to this end tendeth the sense of all the alphabetical psalm, which is in order of number the 119th.

The law bridleth the unruly.

The third use or office of the law[5] is to repress the unruly; and those whom no reason can move to orderliness the law commandeth to constrain with punishment, that honesty, peace, and public tranquillity, may be maintained in christian

[1 corrigere, Lat.]

[2 semper ac unice, Lat.; always and alone.]

[3 justificata in semetipsa, Lat. and Vulg.; justified in themselves, Douay.]

[4 lapidem pretiosum, Lat. and Vulg.]

[5 divinæ legis, Lat.]

commonweals[6]. For some there are, and that no small number of people, which do refrain from doing evil, and live somewhat tolerably, not so much for the love of virtue, as for the fear of punishment that will ensue their inordinate living. Therefore it pleased the goodness of God, by giving the law, to put in a caveat, and to make a proviso for the tranquillity of mankind. And to this it seemeth that the apostle had an eye when he said: "We know, that the law was not given to the just, but to the unjust, to the lawless and disobedient, to the ungodly and to sinners, to unholy[7] and unclean, to murderers of fathers and murderers of mothers, to man-slayers, to whoremongers, to them that defile themselves with mankind, to man-stealers, to liars, to perjured; and if there be any other thing that is contrary to wholesome doctrine," &c. [1 Tim. i. 9, 10.]

It is unpossible for us of our own strength to fulfil the law.

After the declaration of the use, the end, and the office of the law, I have next to teach you how, and by what means, the law of God is fulfilled. It is unpossible for any man, of his own strength, to fulfil the law, and fully to satisfy the will of God in all points. For it is manifest that in the law there is not required the outward work only, but also the pureness of the inward affections, and, as it were, as I said even now, a certain heavenly[8] and absolute perfectness. For the Lord himself in one place crieth, "Be ye perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect." But so absolute a perfectness is not found in us so long as we live in this flesh: for the flesh, even to the very last end of our life, doth keep still her corrupt disposition; and although it doth many times receive an overthrow by the spirit, that striveth against it, yet doth it still renew the fight[9]; so that in us there is not found, nor in our strength there doth remain[10], that heavenly and most absolute perfectness[8]. But let us hear the testimony of the holy apostle Paul touching this matter, who saith: "We know that the law is spiritual: but I am carnal, sold under sin. For that which I do I allow not: for what I would, that do I not; but what I hate, that do I." And [Matt. v. 48.] [Rom. vii. 14, 15.]

[6 in christian commonweals, not in the original.]
[7 irreverentibus, Lat.] [8 divinam perfectionem, Lat.]
[9 usque tamen recurrit, Lat. Cf. Horat. Ep. Lib. I. 10, 24.]
[10 ex nostris viribus derivetur, Lat.]

again: "I know that in me, that is, in my flesh, dwelleth no good thing: for to will is present with me; but I find no means to perform that which is good." Again: "I delight in the law of God after the inward man: but I see another law in my members, rebelling against the law of my mind, and subduing me unto the law of sin which is in my members." And at the last he concludeth, and saith: "So then with the mind I myself[1] serve the law of God; but with the flesh the law of sin." Now some there are which think that Paul spake these words not of himself, but of the persons of others which were carnal men and not as yet regenerate. But the very words of the apostle do enforce the reader, whether he will or no, to confess, that the words recited may be applied even to the man that is most spiritual[2]. Augustine, I. *Lib. Retractat.* cap. 23, saith, that he himself was sometime of opinion, that those words of the apostle ought to be expounded of the man which was under the law, and not under grace; but he confesseth, that he was compelled by the authority of others' writings and treatises to think that the apostle spake them of such men as were most spiritual, and of his own person: as he doth at large declare in his book[3] against the Pelagians[4]. Even St Hierome also, who is said to have thundered out a most horrible curse against them that taught that the law did command things unpossible[5], doth expressly write to Rusticus, that Paul in this place speaketh of

Rom. vii. Paul spake in the 7th chapter to the Romans of his own person.

[1 idem ego, Lat., and Erasmus.]

[2 maxime spiritualibus competere, Lat.]

[3 libris, Lat.; books, ed. 1577.]

[4 In (eo) libro, "*Quod autem ait,*" inquam, "*Scimus quia lex spiritalis est, ego autem carnalis sum, venundatus sub peccato,* satis ostendit, non posse impleri legem, nisi a spiritalibus, quales facit gratia Dei." Quod utique non ex persona Apostoli accipi volui, qui jam spiritalis erat; sed hominis sub lege positi, nondum sub gratia. Sic enim prius hæc verba sapiebam, quæ postea lectis quibusdam divinorum tractatoribus eloquiorum, quorum me moveret auctoritas, consideravi diligentius et vidi etiam de ipso apostolo posse intelligi, quod ait, Scimus quoniam lex spiritalis est, ego autem carnalis sum. Quod in eis libris quos contra Pelagianos nuper scripsi, quantum potui diligenter ostendi." —Retract. I. 23. Aug. Opp. Par. 1531. Tom. I. fol. 7. col. 3.]

[5 Execramur etiam eorum blasphemiam, qui dicunt impossibile aliquid homini a Deo præceptum esse. Symboli Explan. ad Damasum. Hieron. Opp. Tom. V. col. 124. Par. 1706. But this treatise is not Jerome's.]

his own person[6]. But if the flesh and the corrupt disposition thereof remain, whereby it doth uncessantly strive with the spirit, then, verily, that heavenly perfectness is never perfit in us so long as we live; and so, consequently, so long as we live, none of us fulfilleth the law.

No man is justified by the works of the law.

Here also is to be inserted that disputation of Paul, where he proveth that no mortal man is justified by the works of the law: his meaning is, not that no man is justified by the very works of the law, but that no man is justified by the works of our corrupt nature[7], which doth not perform that which the law of God requireth; for, as the same apostle saith, it is not able to perform it. And very well truly[8] saith he; "We know that a man is not justified by the deeds of the law, but by the faith of Jesus Christ: and we have believed in Jesus Christ, that we might be justified by the faith of Christ, and not by the deeds of the law; because by the deeds of the law no flesh shall be justified." Neither must we by the deeds of the law understand the ceremonies only: for even as the ceremonies do not, so likewise do not the morals, justify us men. The apostle speaketh of the morals, when he speaketh of the deeds of the law. For in the third chapter to the Romans the same apostle saith: "By the deeds of the law there shall no flesh be justified in his sight." And immediately after he addeth the reason why, saying; "for by the law cometh the knowledge of sin." But in the seventh chapter he sheweth by what law, to wit, the moral law. For the moral law saith, "Thou shalt not lust." But the apostle saith, "I knew not sin but by the law; for I had not known concupiscence, if the law had not said, Thou shalt not lust." In his epistle to the Ephesians he speaketh to the Gentiles, and saith simply that works do not justify: but, speaking to the Gentiles, he could not mean it of ceremonial laws, but of the very moral virtues, that is, all kinds of works that seemed to be good. To the Galatians he saith: "As many as are of the deeds of the law are under the curse."

[Gal. ii. 16.]

The works of the law.

[Ephes. ii. 9.]

[Gal. iii. 10.]

[6 Hieron. Opp. Tom. IV. par. sec. col. 772. Ep. 95. Bullinger, Expos. in Ep. ad. Rom. Cap. VII. p. 66. Tigur. 1537.]

[7 The translator has here (from, 'his meaning is,' &c.) entirely mistaken Bullinger's words, which are; non legis quidem, sed corruptæ naturæ nostræ vitio: not indeed through any fault of the law, but through the fault of our corrupt nature.]

[8 diserte quidem, Lat.]

And to prove that, he addeth; "For it is written, Cursed is every one that continueth not in all things which are written in the book of the law to do them." Now unless we do by the deeds of the law understand the morals, as well as the ceremonials, I do not see how his proof can hang to that which went before. For he saith expressly, "In all things which are written in the book of the law[1] to do them." Now who knoweth not that the ceremonials were not written alone, but that the morals were written also? And St Augustine in his book, *De Spiritu et litera*, cap. VIII.[2] doth by many arguments prove, that Paul by the deeds of the law did understand the morals also[3].

Now that we may conclude this place, I will here recite the words of the apostle in the eighth chapter to the Romans[4], saying: "What the law could not do, inasmuch as it was weak through the flesh, that God performed by sending his own Son in the similitude of sinful flesh, and by sin condemned sin in the flesh; that the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us, which walk not after flesh, but after the spirit." The apostle in these words teacheth us two things: first, that the law neither can now, nor never could, justify us men. The fault of this weakness or lack of ability he casteth not upon the law, which is of itself good and effectual, and is the doctrine of most absolute righteousness; but he layeth the fault thereof upon our corrupt flesh. Our flesh neither could, nor can, perform that which is required of us by the law[5] of God. Whereupon St Peter, in the council held at Hierusalem, [Acts xv. 10.] is read to have said: "Now therefore why tempt ye God, to put on the disciples' necks the yoke, which neither our fathers nor we were able to bear?" The latter is inferred upon the

[1 legis hujus, Lat.; of this law.]

[2 præsertim cap. 8, Lat.; and more especially in chap. 8.]

[3 Ac ne quisquam putaret hic Apostolum ea lege dixisse neminem justificari, quæ in sacramentis veteribus multa continet figurata præcepta, unde etiam ipsa est circumcisio carnis, quam die octavo accipere parvuli jussi sunt; continuo subjunxit quam legem dixerit, et ait, *Per legem enim cognitio peccati*, &c.—Lib. de Spiritu et Litera. ch. VIII. Aug. Op. Par. 1531, Tom. III. fol. 172. col. 2. Several similar passages are contained in the same treatise.]

[4 verses 3. 4. Bullinger has adopted Erasmus' rendering. But see below, p. 258, note 1.]

[5 bona lege, Lat.; by the good law.]

first, to wit, when the law could not give us life, nor we were able to do that which the law required at our hands, then God, who is rich in mercy and goodness, sent his Son into the world, that he, being incarnate, should die for us, and so take away the sin of our imperfection, and bestow on us his perfectness and fulness of the law[6]. By this therefore it is manifest that Christ hath fulfilled the law, and that he is the perfectness of all the faithful in the world.

Christ hath fulfilled the law, and is the perfectness of the faithful.

But here this place requireth a more full exposition, how Christ hath fulfilled the law, and how he is made our perfectness. First of all, whatsoever things are promised and prefigured in the law and the prophets, all those hath Christ our Lord fulfilled. For those promises; "The seed of the woman shall crush the serpent's head: In thee shall all the kindreds of the earth be blessed;" and other more innumerable like to these did our Lord fulfil, when he, being born into this world, made an atonement for us, and brought back life to us again. In like manner he fulfilled all the ceremonials, while he himself, being both priest and sacrifice, did offer up himself, and is now and ever an effectual and everlasting sacrifice, and an eternal high priest, making intercession always at the right hand of the Father for all faithful believers. He also doth spiritually circumcise the faithful, and hath given them instead of circumcision the sacrament of[7] baptism. He is our passover, who instead of the paschal lamb hath ordained the Eucharist, or supper of the Lord. Finally, he is the fulfilling[8] and perfectness of the law and the prophets. Moreover our Lord fulfilled the law, in that he did most absolutely in all points satisfy the will of God, being himself the holiest of all[9], in whom there is no spot, no evil concupiscence, nor any sin: in him is the love of God most perfect, and righteousness altogether absolute; which righteousness he doth freely communicate to us that are most unperfect, if we believe and have our hope fast settled in him[10]. For he forgiveth us our sins, being made a cleansing sacrifice for us,

[Gen. iii. 15; xii. 3.]

[6 perfectionem suam nobis conferret in fide, qui est perfectio et plenitudo legis, Lat.; and bestow on us his perfectness in faith, being himself the perfectness and fulness of the law. Ed. 1577.]

[7 the sacrament of, not in Lat.]

[8 et mens, Lat.; omitted.]

[9 sanctus sanctorum, Lat.]

[10 and have—him, not in Lat.]

and maketh us partakers of his own righteousness; which is for that cause called imputed righteousness[1]. Whereunto the testimonies of the apostle do appertain. "God," saith Paul, "was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself, not imputing their sins unto them. For him, which knew no sin, he made sin for us, that we might be made the righteousness of God by him[2]." Again: "Abraham believed God, and it was imputed to him for righteousness, without works[3]. So also, if we believe in God through Christ, our faith shall be imputed to us for righteousness." For by faith we lay hold on Christ, whom we believe to have made most absolute satisfaction to God for us, and so consequently that God for Christ his sake is pleased with us, and that his righteousness is imputed to us as our own[4] (and is indeed by gift our own), because we are now the sons of God.

[Rom. iv. 3, 24.]

These things being diligently weighed, it shall be easy for us to answer them which make this question, and do demand: Since no mortal man doth of himself exactly satisfy the law, how then is righteousness, life, and salvation, promised to them that do observe the law? Our answer is forsooth, that that promise hath a respect to the perfect righteousness of Christ, which is imputed unto us. Otherwise it is assuredly certain, that the holy scripture doth not so much as in one jot disagree or square[5] in any point from itself. The apostle doth plainly say: "If there had a law been given which could have given life, then had righteousness been of the law: but now the scripture hath shut up all under sin, that the promise might be given by faith to them that do believe." Wherefore he keepeth or doth fulfil the law, even of the ten commandments, who doth the thing for which the law was chiefly ordained. But the law was chiefly ordained (as I did declare a little before) to the end, that it might convince us all of sin and damnation, and so by that means send us from ourselves, and lead us by the hand to Christ, who is the fulfilling of the law

Life is promised to them that keep the law.

[Gal. iii. 21, 22.]

[1 imputativa, Lat.]

[2 2 Cor. v. 19, 21, per illum, Lat.; Erasmus' rendering. Calvin retains the "in ipso" of the Vulgate; melius enim quadrat menti Paulinæ illa significatio. Com. in loc. cit.]

[3 certe absque operibus, Lat.]

[4 Christi justitiam gratis imputari, Lat.]

[5 discrepare, Lat.]

unto justification to every one that doth believe. And therefore he doth fulfil and keep the law, who hath no confidence in himself and his own works, but, committing himself to the very[6] grace of God, doth seek all righteousness in the faith of Christ. Whereupon now it is evident, that these two sentences of Christ our Lord are of one sense and meaning; "Whosoever believeth in me, he hath life everlasting:" and, "If thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments." For Paul also in the thirteenth chapter of the Acts saith: "Be it known unto you, brethren, that through Christ is preached to you the forgiveness of sins; and by him all that believe are justified from all the things, from which he could not be justified by the law of Moses." And to this place now belongeth all the work[7] of justification, of which I have at large disputed in another place[8].

How we may keep the law.

[John vi. 47; Matt. xix. 17.]

Acts xiii.

Now that faith, wherewith we believe that Christ hath satisfied the law, and that he is our righteousness and our perfection, is neither of our own nature, nor of our own merits, but is by the grace of God poured into us through the Holy Spirit which is given into our hearts. This Spirit abiding in our hearts doth inflame our breasts with the love and desire of God's law, to do our endeavour to the expressing[9] and shewing of the law in all our works and conversation: which desire and endeavour, although they be never fully accomplished by reason of the flesh's frailty[10], or weakness of man's nature, which remaineth in us even till the last gasp and end of our life, is notwithstanding acceptable to God by grace[11] for Christ his sake alone; neither doth any godly man put any confidence in this other, but in the first fulfilling of the law[12], as that which is only absolute and perfect. For Paul in his epistle to the Romans crieth out: "O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death[13]?" And yet immediately after he answereth; "I thank God," to wit, because he hath redeemed me from death, "through Jesus Christ our Lord. So then I myself with the mind serve the

How we may keep the law.

[Rom. vii. 24, 25; viii. 1.]

[6 veræ gratiæ, Lat.; true grace.]
[7 negotium, Lat.] [8 See Decade I. Serm. 6.]
[9 legitime, Lat.; omitted.] [10 carnis ingenium, Lat.]
[11 sed duntaxat, Lat.] [12 tantum, Lat.; omitted, alone.]
[13 ex hoc corpore morti obnoxio, Lat.; Erasmus' rendering.]

law of God, but with the flesh the law of sin. There is then[1] no condemnation to them which are graffed[2] in Christ Jesu, which walk not after the flesh but after the spirit," &c. Wherefore, since we are in Christ, we are in grace, and therefore is God pleased with our works, which, being given to us by faith[3] and by the liberal Spirit[4], do proceed from an heart that loveth God, the giver of them all[5]. For John said: "This is the love of God, that we keep his commandments; and his commandments are not grievous." He addeth also the reason thereof, and saith; "For all that is born of God overcometh the world:" now every one is born of God that doth believe; as is declared in the first of St John.

[1 John v. 3, 4, 12, 13.]

God's commandments are not heavy to be borne.

By which it is easy to reconcile these two places, which seem at a blush to jar one with another: The laws of God are heavy, which neither we nor our fathers were able to bear: and, The laws of God are not grievous, or heavy to be borne. For they are not heavy to the faithful which are in Christ[6], and to those which have the gift of God's Spirit, that is, to those that are reconciled to God by Christ their Lord and Saviour. Without Christ and faith in Christ they are most grievous and heavy to be borne of every unbeliever[7]. So the faithful, being stirred up by the Spirit of God, doth voluntarily and of his own accord do good to all men, so far as his ability doth suffer him, and will not in any case do hurt to any man: not for because he feareth the punishment that in the law is appointed for the disobedient, unjust, and wrongful dealers; but for because he loveth God. And so also he fulfilleth the judicial law.

[Acts xv. 10; 1 John v. 3.]

Of the abrogation of the law.

Here I know full well that thou wilt make this objection and say: If the law be fulfilled, and that the fulfilling[8] thereof hath a place in the saints and faithful ones, what needed then, I pray you, the abrogating of the law? What

[1 nunc, Lat.; omitted: now.]

[2 qui insiti sunt, Lat., and Erasmus.] [3 ex fide, Lat.]

[4 ex liberali spiritu, Lat.; referring to Psalm li. 12, where Calvin and Bucer read, spiritu liberali. See also p. 147, note 6.]

[5 the giver of them all, not in Lat.]

[6 insitis in Christo, Lat.]

[7 and heavy—unbeliever, not in Lat.]

[8 that the fulfilling thereof, not in Lat.]

needed Paul, and all the best divines, to dispute so largely of the abrogation of the same? I will therefore say somewhat of the abrogation of the law, first generally, and then by parts peculiarly. But first of all, these words of the Lord in the gospel must be beaten into the head of every godly hearer[9]: "Think not," saith he, "that I am come to destroy the law or the prophets: yea, I came not to destroy, but to fulfil them. Verily, I say unto you, heaven and earth shall pass[10], but one jot or tittle of the law shall not pass, till all be fulfilled. Whosoever therefore shall loose one of the smallest of these commandments, and shall teach men so, he shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven: but whosoever shall do and teach them, he shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven." Let every one therefore be assuredly persuaded that the law of God, which is the most excellent and perfect will of God, is for ever eternal, and cannot be at any time dissolved, either by men, or angels, or any other creatures. Let every man think that the law, so far as it is the rule how to live well and happily, so far as it is the bridle wherewith we are kept in the fear of the Lord, so far as it is a prick to awake the dulness of our flesh, and so far as it is given to instruct, correct, and rebuke us men, that so far, I say, it doth remain unabrogated[11], and hath even at this day her commodity in the church of God: and therefore the abrogating of the law consisteth in this that followeth. [Matt. v. 17—19.]

I told you that God's commandments require the whole man, and a very heavenly[12] kind of perfectness; which whosoever performeth not, he is accursed and condemned by the law. Now no man doth fulfil that righteousness: therefore are we all accursed by the law. But this curse is taken away, and most absolute righteousness is freely bestowed on us, through Christ Jesus. For Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made the curse, righteousness, and sanctification for us men. And so in this sense the law is 1
abrogated; that is, the curse of the law is through Christ taken from the faithful, and true righteousness is bestowed upon us through grace by faith in the same Christ Jesus[13].

[9 insculpenda erunt animo pio, Lat.]
[10 donec prætereat, Lat.; as in Auth. Ver.]
[11 intactam, Lat.] [12 plane divinam, Lat.]
[13 through grace—Jesus, not in Lat.]

For he is that blessed Seed in whom all the kindreds of the earth are blessed. He is our righteousness. For Paul
[Acts xiii. 39.] saith, "By him every one that believeth is justified from all things, from which ye could not be justified by the law of
2 Moses." Therefore the law is put for the curse of the law: or else the law of God is taken for that which is bewrayed or made manifest by the law, that is to say, it is taken for sin; for by the law cometh the knowledge of sin. Therefore the law is abrogated, that is, sin is taken away, not that it should not be, or not shew itself[1] in us, but that it should not be imputed unto us and condemn us; "for there
3 is no damnation to them that are in Christ Jesu[2]." Moreover the law is taken for the vengeance or punishment which is by the law appointed for transgressors. Therefore the law is abrogated, because the punishment appointed by the law
[1 Tim. i. 9.] is taken from the necks of the faithful believers; "for the law is not given to the righteous man." For Christ delivered the faithful from eternal punishments, whiles he being guiltless did suffer afflictions for wicked sinners. Furthermore,
[Rom. viii. 7.] the apostle saith: "The fleshly mind is enmity against God:
4 for it is not obedient to the law of God, neither can be." But now this hatred or enmity of God's law is by faith pulled out of the hearts of the faithful; and instead of it is graffed in the love of God's most holy will: so that, in this sense also, the law is said to be abrogated, because the hatred of the law is taken away. And therefore the apostle compareth them that are under the law to bond-slaves, and them that are free from the law to sons and children[3]: to whom also he attributeth the spirit, not of bondage, but
Gal. iv. of adoption. "For because ye are sons[4]," saith he, "God hath sent the Spirit of his Son into your hearts, which crieth, Abba, Father, &c." To these may be added, that the law of
5 God hath types and shadows, and that the ceremonies are very[5] burdensome, even as also the whole law is called a yoke. But now the Son of God came into this world, who, fulfilling the figures, shewed to us the very truth, and did abolish those types and shadows; so that now no man can

[1 exserat suas vires, Lat.] [2 Rom. viii. 1, qui insiti sunt in.]
[3 liberis sive filiis, Lat.] [4 ejus filii, Lat.; his sons.]
[5 satis alioqui, Lat.; are otherwise sufficiently.]

condemn us[6] for neglecting or passing over those ceremonies or figures: and so again in that sense the law of God is abrogated, that is to say, that kind of government which Moses ordained did come to nought, when Christ did come and his apostles began to teach. For they, without regard of the ecclesiastical regiment appointed by Moses, did congregate churches, to which they taught not that kind of regiment which Moses had ordained. For they did constantly reject the priesthood of Aaron, the sacraments, the sacrifices, and choice of days, of meats, and of apparel, which Moses had taught their elders; and instead of all those rites they preached Christ alone, and his two sacraments, &c.[7]

The moral law is not abrogated.

This have I said hitherto generally[8] touching the abrogation of the law; and now again I will more largely expound the same by several parts.

The whole law[9] is divided into the moral, the ceremonial, and the judicial laws. The moral law now is contained in the ten commandments, the first precept whereof doth teach us to honour and worship one God alone, and not to match any strange gods with him. This commandment did our Lord Jesus in the gospel so earnestly urge and diligently teach, that we may perceive very well that in it nothing is altered. 1

The second precept forbiddeth idolatry, that is, the worshipping and honouring of all manner images, whether they be the images of God himself, or of any of his creatures. But it is known that the apostles, in the doctrine of the gospel, did use all means that they could to banish and drive away all kind of idolatry. Paul and John cry, "Flee from idolatry." [1 Cor. x. 14. 1 John v. 21.] 2

And whereas Christ and his apostles do most diligently teach us to sanctify and glorify God's holy name, they do thereby give their consent to the establishing of the third[10] commandment, which doth forbid to defile God's name by taking it in vain. 3

The fourth alone of all the commandments[11], concerning the sanctifying of the sabbath-day, is of St Augustine called ceremonial[12]. But it must not be simply understood to be 4

[6 nos judicare, Lat.]
[7 et paucula sacramenta, &c., Lat.; and very few sacraments.]
[8 et breviter, Lat.; omitted, and in few words.]
[9 lex Dei, Lat.] [10 the third, not in Lat.]
[11 in universo decalogo, Lat.; omitted, of all the ten.]
[12 Inter omnia illa decem præcepta, solum ibi quod de Sabbato

ceremonial: for so far forth as the outward worship of God requireth a certain appointed time to be exercised in, and carrieth with it the[1] sacrifices of the law, so far, I say, it is ceremonial; but in respect that it teacheth to meet in holy assemblies to worship God, to pray, to preach, to be partakers of the sacraments, and to offer spiritual sacrifices, therein it is eternal and not ceremonial: as I have before declared in the exposition of the sabbath[2]. The fifth precept, touching the honour due to parents, the Lord himself doth ratify in the fifteenth chapter of Matthew's gospel; even as he doth also very diligently teach the sixth against murder, and the seventh against adultery, in the fifth chapter of the same gospel. The eighth, which is against theft, is renewed by the apostle, who giveth charge, that no man deceive[3] his brother, and that no man steal any more; but that every one should labour with his hands, that he may have things necessary for himself, and be able to give to him that wanteth. The ninth precept, which is for the bridling of the tongue, so that no lie be made nor false witness borne against our neighbour, is by Christ himself and his apostles confirmed so often as they give rules for the ordering of the tongue, and charge every man to speak the truth to his neighbour. And they also do condemn evil lusts and affections, whereby they do not abrogate but repair the tenth[4] commandment, which doth forbid all manner of concupiscence. Therefore the whole abrogation of the ten commandments, so far forth as they are abrogated, doth consist in those points whereof I spake even now: to wit, that Christ in faith is our perfect and absolute righteousness, &c. the apostle bearing witness thereunto, and saying: "What the law could not do, inasmuch as it was weak through the flesh, God, having sent his own Son in the similitude of sinful flesh, even by sin condemned sin in the flesh; that the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us, which walk not after the flesh, but after the spirit:" as is to be seen in the eighth to the Romans[5]. I have therefore discussed the

[1 Thess. iv. 6; Eph. iv. 28.]

positum est, figuratè observandum præcipitur.—Aug. Januario. Ep. 119. c. 12. Op. Par. 1531. Tom. II. fol. 110. col. 4. In the Bened. ed. it stands ad Inquis. Jan. II. 55. c. 12. P.]

[1 externa, Lat.; omitted.] [2 See Decade II. Serm. 4.]

[3 fraudet in negotio, Lat.] [4 tenth, not in Lat.]

[5 verses 3, 4. Bullinger varies in this quotation from himself at

brieflier of this matter, in this place, because I have at the full spoken of it in the treatise of the ten commandments.

How far forth the ceremonials are abrogated.

I am now come to speak of the ceremonials. These ceremonials were given and granted until the time of amendment, to wit, until Messiah should come. Messiah is already come; therefore all the ceremonies, even to the coming, death, resurrection, and ascension of Christ our Lord into the heavens, are come to an end, and have no place any longer in the church of the Christians. And yet here we must and do make a difference[6] betwixt the writings concerning the ceremonies, and the very things of the ceremonies that are set down in writing; I mean, the very ceremonies themselves, or actions that were used. For the writings concerning the ceremonies, which were set forth by the Spirit of God, are not taken away from Christians[7], nor abrogated, so that they may not be read, retained, or used in the church: as I declared in the second sermon of the first decade[8]. For they are effectual to instruct us in Christ Jesu, while in them we do behold the manner how Christ was preached and prefigured to the ancient church of the holy fathers. Paul, verily, did most significantly preach Christ out of the ceremonies; which no man will deny that readeth diligently his epistle to the Hebrews: for he doth wonderfully in that epistle lay Christ and all his gifts before the eyes of all the church. Therefore the ceremonials both may and ought to be read in the church; so yet that in them Christ be sought, and, when he is found, be aptly preached. And for that cause, in the fifth and sixth sermons of this decade, where I handled the ceremonials, I annexed unto them certain notes of their significations, that I might open a way for the students of the scriptures and lovers of Christ to go forward and proceed in that kind of argument.

Now the ceremonial[9] things, or stuff of the ceremonies, of which sort are the priesthood, the place, the time, the sacrifice, and whatsoever else is like to these, are utterly

page 253, and from Erasmus' rendering, in these points: he reads *eo quod* (which Calvin also prefers), instead of ea parte qua imbecillis erat;—and sub specie carnis *peccatricis*, instead of carnis peccato obnoxiæ;—and instead of de peccato, *per peccatum* condemnavit peccatum.]

[6 necessario, Lat. omitted.] [7 from Christians, not in Lat.]

[8 Vol. I. p. 59.] [9 res ceremoniales, is Bullinger's own term.]

abrogated, so that henceforth they are neither used, nor have any place in the church of Christ. This did Jeremy foretell in the third chapter of his prophecy, saying: "In those days[1] they shall make no more boast of the ark of the Lord's covenant[2]: no man shall think upon it, neither shall any man make mention of it; for from thenceforth it shall neither be visited, neither shall such things be done any more[3]." By the ark the prophet meaneth those points of the law[4] which are abolished by the coming of Christ. St Paul, in his epistle to the Hebrews, by the promise that God made to Jeremy[5], saying, "that he would make a new covenant," doth gather this observation: "In that he saith, A new covenant, he hath worn out the first; for[6] that which is worn out, and waxed old, is ready to vanish away." The same apostle to the Ephesians saith: "Christ is our peace, which hath made both one, and broken down the middle wall, that was a stop between us; taking away in his flesh[7] the hatred, even the law of commandments contained in ordinances, for to make of twain one new man in himself, so making peace." Ephes. ii. God verily severed the Jews from the Gentiles, while he chose and consecrated them to be a peculiar people unto himself, not by the calling of the word only, but also by the sacraments. For there were ceremonies prescribed and given, which, as a middle wall betwixt the Jews and the Gentiles, should compass in and contain[8] the heritage of the Lord: so that in the ceremonies the note of difference[9] did consist, whereby the Jews were known to be the lawful heirs[10] of God's good promises, whereof the Gentiles had no part or portion. But Christ came into the world, to the intent that of two people, the Jews and the Gentiles, he might make one church; and therefore did he break down the middle wall that parted them, that is, he did clean take away the ceremonial ordi-

Heb. viii.

Ceremonies the middle wall or partition.

[1 dicit Dominus, Lat. omitted; saith the Lord.]
[2 non dicant amplius, arca fœderis Domini, Lat.]
[3 neque fiet ultra, Lat.; neither shall that be done any more. Auth. Ver.]
[4 etiam alia legalia, Lat.]
[5 apud Jeremiam, Lat.]
[6 porro, Lat.]
[7 per carnem suam, Lat.]
[8 includerent, Lat.; inclose.]
[9 discriminis professio, Lat.]
[10 ac (adeo ut) Judæis, ceu justis hæredibus addiceretur hæreditas, Lat.]

nances which were a stop betwixt them[11]. For Christ in that case did the same that princes are wont to do, who, when they go about to bring two nations, that are at variance, into one kingdom and under one authority, do first take away the diversity of arms[12], which are the cognisances of their ancient hatred, that when the cause of the remembrance of the grudge is taken from their eyes, they may the better agree betwixt themselves in mind and behaviour. For even so did Christ take away circumcision, the sacrifices, and all the ceremonies[13], to the end that of the Jews and Gentiles he might make one church and fellowship[14]. Paul, to the Colossians, compareth the ceremonies to an obligation, or hand-writing[15], whereby God hath us bound, as it were, so that we cannot deny the guilt. But he saith that we were so delivered by Christ from the guilt, that the obligation or hand-writing was cancelled or torn in pieces. But by the cancelling of the hand-writing the debtor is acquitted and set at liberty. And therefore we read, that at the death of our Lord the veil of the temple was torn in pieces from the bottom up to the very top; that thereby all people might understand, both that sins were then forgiven them, and that the people of God was set at liberty from all the burden and yoke of the law. Verily, when the wicked, stiff-necked, and disloyal[16] people of the Jews did, after the death of Christ, go on to exercise, prorogue[17], and to obtrude[18] to all men the ceremonies, which were finished and abrogated at the coming of Messiah[19]; then Christ, sitting at the right hand of the Father, did by the means of the Roman princes utterly deface their city, and overthrow[20] the temple, wherein they boasted[21]: which thing the prophet Daniel, and Balaam many

Ceremonies hand-writing

The city and temple of Jerusalem destroyed.

Dan. ix. Num. xxiv.

[11 which—them, not in Lat.]

[12 diversas tesseras, Lat.; the variety of badges.]

[13 legalibus, Lat.] [14 and fellowship, not in Lat.]

[15 Coloss. ii. 14. Calvin's words, in his Commentary on this passage, are here again largely adopted by Bullinger. See also Calfhill's Answer, p. 123.]

[16 perfidus, Lat.]

[17 prorogare, Lat.; to continue or prolong.]

[18 pietatis ergo in templo, Lat. omitted; as a matter of religion in the temple.]

[19 at the coming of Messiah, not in Lat.]

[20 funditus, Lat. omitted; to its foundations.]

[21 wherein they boasted, not in Lat.]

hundred years before Daniel's time, foretold and said should come to pass. Neither hitherto yet, by the space of 1500 years and more, have they had any place to restore and set up again their city and temple.

In Theodoretus and Ruffinus we read that in the reign of Julian the emperor the Jews, with very great hope and presumption, went about to build a new temple; and that they sought the foundation thereof in the place where that temple stood which was burnt by Titus, son and general[1] to the emperor Vespasian: but Christ our Lord (who in the gospel foretold out of Daniel's prophecy the desolation thereof, and did among other speeches say, "And Hierusalem shall be trodden under foot of the Gentiles, till the time of the Gentiles be fulfilled,") did mightily repress their wicked endeavours, and hinder their labour for going forward. For when they had gathered and brought together many thousand bushels of lime and chalk, then suddenly came a whirlwind with a wonderful storm and blustering, which scattered abroad and carried away the store of stuff by them provided. There happened also a terrible earthquake, by which all the buildings almost of the whole place were swept away, and made even with the ground. Finally, when a great company, which were busy in the work, did the same night remain, or take their rest, in a certain porch or gallery near to the new begun city and temple, the whole building and roof thereof, falling down on a sudden, slew all the number that were within the reach thereof. In the morning they which remained alive ran together to seek every man for his friend among them that were slain by the ruinous building. And when those terrors could do no good, nor turn them from their purpose, then suddenly out of the trenches, foundations, and storehouses hard by, where their tools and other necessaries lay, there sprang forth a fearful fire, which burnt many that urged the work, and compelled the rest to take their heels. For in that one day it brake forth sundry times, and so at last repressed the stubborn rashness of that stiff-necked people. And for because these things should not be thought to have happened casually or at adventures, the night before and the night following there appeared in the sky a bright or glistering sign of the cross, and the garments of the Jews were filled over

[1] and general, not in Lat.]

with crosses, not bright but black, which could not be rid away or wiped out by any pains-taking or manner of means. They therefore, in spite of their teeth and full sore against their wills, being compelled with those horrible terrors, fearful judgments, and bitter plagues of Christ our Lord, forsook the place, and fled every man to his house, leaving the work undone, and openly confessing, that Jesus Christ, whom their forefathers had crucified, is a most mighty God, howsoever Julian, with Pharao[2], and the chief of the Jews, did persevere still in their disloyalty and despiteful blasphemy against him[3] and his holy church[4].

But howsoever the Jews do even at this day abide in their wilful stubbornness, the Lord did from heaven declare openly enough, that he is no longer delighted with the[5] ceremonial rites, because he destroyed all the instruments belonging to that ancient kind of worship; and made the very shop of that old religion, I mean the temple and city of Hierusalem, level with the ground. Touching the temple, the Lord in the gospel spake to his disciples, when they with wondering did behold it[6], and said: "Do ye not see all these things? Verily I say unto you, there shall not be left here one stone standing upon another." And again, weeping over the unthankful city, he said: "They shall not leave in thee one stone standing upon another, because thou knewest not the time of thy visitation." And now, that all this was word for word accomplished and fully finished, Josephus, an eye-witness of the same, doth largely testify in the eighteenth chapter of his seventh book *De Bello Judaico*[7]. Even very now I told you, that from one thousand and five hundred years ago unto this present time the Jews never had any place given them to build their temple up in again: whereby, if they were not beside themselves, they might

[Matt. xxiv. 2; Luke xix. 44.]

[2 licet cum Pharaone, et Julianus et potior Judæorum turba, Lat.]

[3 contra Christum, Lat.; and his holy church, not in Lat.]

[4 Vide Theodoret. Eccl. Hist. III. 20. et Ruffin. Aquil. Hist. Eccles. Lib. I. cap. 37. 38. 39.]

[5 legalibus vel, Lat.]

[6 commonstrantibus, Lat.; point it out.]

[7 This reference is according to the Latin edition of Josephus, Basil, 1540. In the more modern editions the account is contained in the chapters of the sixth, and the first chapter of the seventh book, de Bell. Jud.]

easily gather, that the Messiah is already come into the world, and that he hath abrogated all the ceremonial rites.

Rites or ceremonies, how they are perpetual or everlasting.

It is a very slender, or rather no defence at all for the Jews to allege the words in the law, which are many times rehearsed, where the ceremonies are described: "Ye shall keep it for an everlasting ordinance." For in this sense everlasting is taken for long lasting and unchangeable, so far forth as it hath respect unto the will or authority of mankind[1]. For the Lord did with threatening of grievous punishments forbid that mankind's unadvisedness should change or abrogate the holy ceremonies. And yet, since he did ordain those ceremonies until the time of amendment, he[2] doth neither sin, nor yet incur the crime of unconstancy, when he doth change or take away the ceremonies according to the determinate purpose which he intended from the beginning. Moreover, so long as the thing signified[3] doth not decay, and that the shadow only, or momentany figure[4], doth vanish away, it is assuredly certain that the ceremony doth yet remain in full effect and substance[5]. The whole man doth live for ever; and yet the things that are temporal or corruptible in him do perish in death, and are abolished in his clarification[6].

The priesthood abrogated.

But that all these things may appear as clear as the daylight, I will particularly run through and touch the more notable sort of ceremonies. That the priesthood of Aaron is utterly abrogated, it is evident by the words which[7] the apostle citeth out of David, saying: "The Lord hath sworn, and will not repent, Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedech." Christ, therefore, is the one and only high priest, and that too an everlasting priest, having an immutable priesthood, which cannot by succession pass from him to any other man or angel. For he now, standing at the right hand of the Father in heaven, the very true temple which was prefigured by the tabernacle and temple at Jerusalem, doth make intercession for us, and doth all the offices of an high priest: of whom the apostle of Christ, St Paul, doth speak very largely in his epistle unto the Hebrews.

[Psalm cx. 4; Heb. v. 6.]

[1 quantum attinet homines, Lat.] [2 Deus, Lat.]
[3 per ritum, Lat.; by the ceremony.]
[4 cadit et, Lat.; falls, and.] [5 in substantia sua, Lat.]
[6 i. e. glorification.] [7 id maxime arguit quod, Lat.]

This Christ Jesus, our high priest, hath consecrated all the faithful to be kings and priests unto himself. And yet notwithstanding he doth ordain ministers of the church, by doctrine and examples to instruct the church, and to minister the sacraments; I mean, not those old and ancient ones, but those which the Lord hath substituted instead of the old ones. What doctrine they must teach, he doth expressly declare. The mystical attire and garments of the priesthood he neither did commend to his apostles, nor leave to his church, but took them away with all the ceremonies[8] that are called the middle wall betwixt the Jews and Gentiles. The Lord himself and his apostle Paul will have the pastors of the people clad with righteousness and honesty; and do precisely remove the ministers of the church from superiority and secular affairs. They do also appoint stipends for the ministers to live upon; yet not those which the law allowed them, but such as were most tolerable and convenient for the state and condition of every church. Matt. x. 1 Cor. ix.

The Lord left the place to serve and worship God in free, without exception or binding to any one prescribed or peculiar place, when in the gospel after John he said: "The hour shall come, and is already, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father neither in this mountain, nor at Jerusalem, but in the spirit and in truth: for such the Father requireth to worship him. God is a Spirit; and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth." The apostle followed the Lord in this doctrine, and said; "I will that men pray in every place, lifting up pure hands, without anger." Neither did the Lord in vain, as I shewed you even now, suffer the temple to be utterly overthrown, considering that at his death he had rent the veil thereof. And yet, for all that, the ecclesiastical assemblies are not thereby condemned: of which I spake in the exposition of the fourth precept[9], "Remember that thou keep holy the sabbath-day." Verily, the tabernacle and the temple bare the type of the catholic church of God, out of which there are no prayers nor oblations acceptable to the Lord. But the church is extended to the very ends of the world. And yet it followeth not thereupon, that all are in the church which are in the world: they alone are in the church, which through the

The place for to worship God in is free for every man to choose where he listeth, and the congregation liketh. [John iv. 21, 23, 24.]

[1 Tim. ii. 8.]

[8 decretis, Lat.] [9 See Vol. I. page 255.]

catholic faith are in the fellowship of Christ Jesus, and by the agreement of doctrine, by charity, and by the participation of the sacraments (unless some great necessity hinder them), are in the communion of the holy saints. But they burn incense and sacrifice in high places, whosoever seek after any other sacrifice than the one and only oblation of Christ Jesus; or look for any other to offer their prayers to God the Father than Christ alone[1], as they are taught by the mouth of the pastor sincerely preaching the word of God. Moreover the church of God hath no need now of any ark, any table, any shewbread, any golden candlestick, any altar either of incense or burnt-offerings, nor yet of any brasen laver: for Christ alone is all in all[2] to the catholic church; which church hath all these things spiritually and effectually in Christ Jesus, and can seek for nothing in any other creatures; insomuch that, if it perceive any man to bring in again either these or such like ceremonial instruments, it doth sharply rebuke and bitterly curse[3] him for his unwarrantable rashness and blasphemous presumption in the church of Christ. For what need hath the church of shadows and figures, when it doth now enjoy[4] the thing itself, even Christ Jesus, whose shadow and figure the ceremonies bare? Moreover the church hath signs enough, in that it hath received of Christ two sacramental signs, wherein are contained all the things which the old church did comprehend[5] in sundry and very many figures.

To sacrifice in high places.

Furthermore, he hath left the holy time, to worship God in, free to our choice, who in the gospel saith: "The sabbath was made for man, not man for the sabbath: therefore the Son of Man is Lord also of the sabbath." And the apostle Paul saith: "Let no man therefore judge you in meat, or drink, or in part of an holy day[6], or of the new moon, or of the sabbaths: which are the shadows of things to come; but the body is of Christ." Of the christian sabbath I spake in

The holy time is free.

[Mark ii. 27, 28.]

[Coloss. ii. 16, 17.]

[1 et alium in orando et sacrificando modum tenent, quam verbo pastoris in ecclesia est traditum, Lat.; and practise another method of prayer and sacrifice than, &c.]

[2 hæc omnia, Lat.; is all these things.]

[3 execretur, Lat.; for his—Christ, not in Lat.]

[4 per fidem, Lat. omitted; by faith: whose—bare, not in Lat.]

[5 habuit, Lat.] [6 So Auth. Ver. marg.]

the exposition of the fourth commandment[7]. As for the new moons, they are not solemnized by the church of Christ, insomuch as it is taught by Christ to attribute to God[8], not the beginning of months only, but the whole year also, and the commodity[9] thereof, with the light of the sun, the moon, and all the stars in heaven.

Moreover the Christians do celebrate their passover more spiritually than bodily; even as also they do solemnize their Pentecost, or Whitsuntide[10]. For as he sent his Spirit upon his disciples, so doth he daily send it upon all the faithful. And that is the cause that in the faithful the alarm is stricken up to encourage them as soldiers to skirmish with their enemies[11]. For the flesh lusteth against the spirit, and the faithful are daily assaulted, and provoked to battle, by the world, and by the devil the prince of the world[12]. Furthermore, the feast of propitiation, being once finished upon the cross, endureth for ever: neither do the saints any more send out a scapegoat, to bear their sins into the desert[13]; for Christ our Lord came once, and was offered up, and by his sacrifice took away the sins of all the world. Finally, since the faithful do daily consider and bear in their minds, that they have no abiding place in this transitory world, but that they look after a place to come; they need not, as the Jews did, once a year to celebrate the feast of tabernacles. In like manner, the faithful do no more acknowledge any year of jubilee: for Christ came once, and preached unto us that acceptable year, even the gospel, whereby it is proclaimed that all our sins and iniquities are clearly forgiven us. For so doth Christ himself interpret it[14] in the fourth of St Luke's gospel, taking occasion to speak of it out of the sixty-first chapter of Esay's prophecy. And thus the holy time and festival days are abrogated by Christ in his holy church; which notwithstanding is not left destitute of any holy thing or necessary matter.

[7 Decade II. Serm. 4.]

[8 creatori, Lat. omitted; the maker of them.]

[9 proventum, Lat.]

[10 or Whitsuntide, added by the translator.]

[11 Semper autem hic classicum canunt ad pugnam, Lat. See above, page 169.]

[12 hujus seculi, Lat.]

[13 to bear—desert, not in Lat.] [14 hæc declarat, Lat.]

The Romish jubilee.

But now because this present year, wherein this book is first of all printed, is the year of grace 1550, and according to the Romish tradition is called the year of jubilee; I am therefore compelled, as it were of necessity, to make a little digression, and speak somewhat of the Romish jubilee.

I do therefore call it the Romish, and not the christian, jubilee, because, as I shewed you even now, the church of Christ, after our redemption wrought by Christ and preached by the gospel, doth neither acknowledge nor receive any other year of jubilee. In the ancient Jewish year of jubilee there is to be considered the meaning of the letter, and of the
1 spirit[1]. According to the letter, bondmen were set at liberty, and lawful heirs did receive again their patrimony and possessions, which either was changed away or otherwise gone from them. The meaning[2] of that order, as it could not be brought again into all kingdoms in these latter days[3] without the trouble of all estates, so it is little set by and the care of the oppressed utterly neglected by the holy popes[4], who now of late[5] brought in the year of jubilee, and preached it unto the foolish world, not for any zeal they had to help the oppressed, but for the desire they had, by robbing the
2 world, to augment their own treasures[6]. The spiritual and hidden mystery of the jubilee did commend[7] unto them of old the free remission of all sins through Christ by faith in Christ: which free grace cannot, without reproach to Christ, be otherwise preached than it hath been already taught by the holy gospel. Therefore the church was without the observation of any year of jubilee by the space of 1300 years after Christ his incarnation. At last, up start Bonifacius, the eighth of that name, bishop of Rome[8], who first of all invented that wicked ordinance. For Platina, in the life of that Bonifacius, saith: "This is he that first brought in the jubilee, in the year of Christ 1300, wherein he granted full remission of all

[1 consideratur litera et spiritus, Lat.]

[2 Is ritus, Lat.] [3 hodie, Lat.]

[4 non admodum curant beatissimi patres, Lat.]

[5 now of late, not in Lat.]

[6 ut opibus suis plurimum accedat, is the Lat., rendered by, not for any—own treasures.]

[7 Christum et gratuitam ejus, Lat.; Christ, and his free, &c.]

[8 cujus nomine et Sextus Decret. prodiit, Lat. omitted; under whose name the sixth book of Decretals also was put forth.]

their sins to as many as visited the see apostolical. And the same did he ordain to be observed every hundredth year." So then the church of Christ was without this jubilee, without peril of salvation, by the space of 1300 years. And therefore may we also be without it without all peril and damage, yea, to our great profit and commodity. For if our Romanists go on to obtrude it to the world as a thing necessary to salvation, then shall they condemn the universal church which was before pope Boniface his time, who first brought in this unacquainted jubilee. Thus we are so far from not[9] being able to be without it, that we ought by all means possible to detest and abhor it as a very wicked and blasphemous ordinance; considering that we have to believe that the jubilee is utterly abrogated by Christ, and also that all sins are freely through Christ forgiven to all that believe, in what place of the world soever they live and are conversant in.

This pope Boniface doth to his false promise and unpure place annex the remission of sins. Now I doubt whether this blasphemous antichrist[10] could do any thing more horrible, and more against the honour of the Saviour[11]. For therein is defiled the glory of the only-begotten Son of God, who is the only health[12] of all the world. Therein is defiled the salvation of many thousands, for which Christ died upon the cross. And therein also is defiled the glory of christian faith, by which alone we are made partakers of eternal salvation. This ungracious and wicked pope was he of whom that common proverb runneth: "He entered like a wolf, he reigned like a lion, and died like a dog[13]." For verily so blasphemous an ordinance was worthy of such an author; so foolish a people was worthy of such a pastor; and so devilish a pope was worthy of such an end[14]. Platina writeth, that in that

[9 non tantum illo carere possumus, Lat.]

[10 "blasphemous antichrist" is not in the original.]

[11 et execrandum, Lat.; and to be abhorred.]

[12 Salvatoris, Lat.; Saviour.]

[13 See Homily for Whit-sunday, Part II. page 425. Oxford, 1832. "It is reported, that Celestine" (his predecessor) "prophesied of him, Ascendisti ut vulpes, Regnabis ut leo, Morieris ut canis.—Of this Pope (Boniface) a certain versifier wrote thus:

Ingreditur vulpes, regnat leo, sed canis exit;
Re tandem vera, si sic fuit, ecce chimera."]

[14 and so—end, not in the original.]

year of jubilee there came so great heaps of people to Rome, that although the city were indifferently large enough, yet one man could not for throng pass by another[1]. For the world will needs be deceived: if it were not so, they would give ear unto the Lord which crieth, "O all ye that thirst, come to the waters, and ye that have no money, draw nigh. Why spend ye your money upon a thing of nought, &c." Esay lv., and John iv. vii. Now all the while that the world was set thus on madding, the righteous Lord was not asleep, nor yet did dissemble how much they displeased him with that devilish[2] invention. For the very same year he stirred up Ottoman[3], the patriarch and first founder of the Turkish empire, by whose means he did notably scourge the church of Rome and the corrupt manners that were crept into Christendom. A few years after succeeded Clement the sixth[4], Paul the second, and Sixtus the fourth[5], as wicked men as he, as is to be found in the histories of their lives; who changed the year of jubilee from every hundreth to every fiftieth year, and so at last to every five and twentieth year, that so they might suck the more advantage out of men's foolishness. But now to the matter again.

[1 Jubileum idem (Bonifacius VIII.) retulit anno millesimo trecentesimo, quo plenam delictorum omnium remissionem his præstabat, qui limina apostolorum visitassent.—Idem etiam centesimo quoque anno observari mandavit.—Ob hanc rem eo anno tanta undique hominum multitudo Romam venit, ut vix incedere per urbem, amplam quidem et vastam, liceret.—Platin. de Vit. Pontif. Rom. p. 245. Colon. 1568.]

[2 devilish, not in Lat.]

[3 From that very year (viz. of the institution of the jubilee), as most stories do record, the Turks do begin the first count of their Turkish emperors, whereof the first was Ottoman. Foxe's Acts and Monum. Vol. II. p. 586. ed. Lond. 1837. See also Bullinger in Apocalyps. Conc. XXX. on Rev. vi. 1—4, and XLI. on ix. 12-19.]

[4 Petentibus Romanis, ut quemadmodum Bonifacius octavus olim concesserat, ut centesimo quoque anno plenam peccatorum omnium remissionem visitantibus limina apostolorum Petri et Pauli, quinquagesimo quoque anno id facere libenter annuat (Clemens VI.) cum dicerent ætatem hominum jubileum illum centum annorum attingere non posse. Platin. de Vit. Pontif. Rom. p. 258.]

[5 Quum vero annus Jubileus instaret, quem ex quinquagesimo ad XXV contraxit (Xystus IV.) primusque anno salutis MCCCCLXXV. celebravit, &c. Platin. p. 350.—This was in confirmation of the bull of his predecessor, Paul the Second.]

The sacraments also of the ancient Jews are flatly abrogated, and in their places are substituted new sacraments, which are given to the people of the new covenant. The Jewish sacraments and sacrifices are utterly abrogated.

Instead of circumcision is baptism appointed[6]. The apostles, in the synod held at Hierusalem, did oppose themselves against those which were of opinion that circumcision was necessary unto salvation; and in that council they allowed of Paul's doctrine, who both thought and taught the contrary. For Paul in one place saith; "Lo, I Paul say unto you, that if you be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing. For I testify to every man which is circumcised, that he is a debtor to the whole law to do it. Christ is made of none effect to you: as many of you as are justified by the law, are fallen from grace." Neither is it right or convenient that in the church of Christ there should remain so bloody a sacrament[7] as circumcision was, when once that blood was shed upon the cross which stancheth and taketh away the blood[8] of the old Testament. 1 [Gal. v. 2—4.]

Instead of the paschal Lamb is the Lord's supper ordained[6], which by another name is called the eucharist, or a thanksgiving. For so the Lord himself in Luke expoundeth it, saying, that he did then eat the last passover with his disciples; at the end whereof he did immediately ordain the sacrament of his body and blood, which he biddeth them to celebrate in remembrance of him[9], until he return to judgment again. Therefore the Lord left[10] the supper to be an unchangeable sacrament until the end of the world. 2

Moreover, that all sorts of sacrifices contained in the law are utterly abrogated, no man, I suppose, will once deny, which doth but consider, that both the temple and the two altars, with all the holy instruments, are utterly overthrown and come to nothing. I told you that those sacrifices were remembrances of sins, and types or figures of the cleansing and atonement that was to be made by Christ Jesus[11]. Therefore when Christ was come and offered up for the sins of all the world, then verily did all the sacrifices of the ancient Jews[12] come to their ending. For where there is a full and absolute

[6 subiit, Lat.] [7 signum, Lat.] [8 omnem sanguinem, Lat.]
[9 in remembrance of him, not in Lat.]
[10 ecclesiæ, Lat.; to the church.] [11 expiationis futuræ, Lat.]
[12 veterum, Lat.; Jews, not in Lat.]

remission of sins, there is no longer any sacrifice for sin. But in the new Testament there is a full remission of sins: therefore in the new Testament there is no longer any sacrifice offered for sins. For Christ is only and alone instead of all the sacrifices. For he was once offered up, and after that is offered no more: who by the once offering up of himself hath found eternal redemption; so that all, which be sanctified, are sanctified by none other oblation but that of Christ upon the cross made once for all. Wherefore Christ, being once offered upon the cross for the sins of all the world, is the burnt-offering of the catholic church: he is also the meat-offering, which feedeth us with his flesh offered upon the cross unto eternal life, if we receive and feed on him[1] by faith. Moreover he is the drink-offering of the church, which with his blood doth quench the thirst of the faithful unto life everlasting. He is the purging and daily sacrifice of the church; because he is "the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world[2]." His death and passion cleanseth all men from their sins, their errors, and iniquities[3]. Finally, he is the church's sacrifice of thanksgiving; because by Christ we offer praise to God, and by Christ we render thanks unto the Lord[4].

The eucharist, or supper of the Lord, is to Christians instead of all sacrifices.

To conclude: the only supper of the Lord, which we call the eucharist, containeth in it all the kinds of ancient sacrifices: which are in effect but of two sorts; to wit, of purging and of atonement, as those which were offered for sin; or else of thanksgiving, as those which rendered thanks and offered praise unto the Lord. Now the supper is a testimony, a sacrament, and[5] a remembrance of the body of Christ which was given for us, and of his blood that was shed for the remission of our sins. For the body and blood of our Lord, which were but once offered upon the cross[6], and neither can nor ought to be offered any more of men, are not sacrificed afresh in the celebration of the supper: but in the celebrating of it there is reiterated a remembrance of the thing, I mean, of the oblation, which was but once made, and in once offering

[1 si percipiatur, Lat.; if it (his flesh) be received.]
[2 John i. 29, peccatum, Lat.]
[3 omnia vitia mortalium, omnes errores, omnia scelera, Lat.]
[4 Deo Patri, Lat.; to God the Father.]
[5 adeoque, Lat.; and so.]
[6 pro peccatis, Lat.; for sins.]

was sufficient. Again, in the supper we render thanks to God for our redemption, for which also the universal church doth offer praise unto his name. Wherefore the supper of the Lord doth comprehend the whole substance and matter, which was prefigured in those ancient sacrifices: so that, in that point, the church is not destitute of any good or necessary thing, although it doth no longer retain those sacrifices of the elder church. Yea, they ought not any longer to be solemnized in the church, because they were nothing else but the figures, types, and sacraments of Christ to come. But the church doth now believe, and that rightly too, that Christ is already come, and that he hath fulfilled and accomplished all things; as we read that he himself did testify, when on the cross he cried, saying, "It is finished."

Vows abrogated.

Moreover all vows are come to an end, because all sacrifices, wherein[7] the vows consisted, are vanished and gone. Likewise the discipline of the Nazarites is now decayed, because the temple with all the ceremonies belonging thereunto is vaded away. There remaineth still in the church a christian and moderate discipline, but not that which is described in the law: and the saints do perform to God the vows which they have made in the church, not contrary to faith and godliness; but they are sparing, wary, and very religious in making vows. For what have we to give to God, which we have not first received at his hands; and to the performing of which we were not bound before in baptism?

The choice of meats abrogated. [Matt. xv. 11.]

Christ doth not so distinguish between clean and unclean in the gospel, as Moses doth in the law. "That," saith he, "which entereth into the mouth defileth not the man; but that which cometh out of the mouth." And the apostle Paul doth flatly say, that "to the clean all things are clean." And like to this he speaketh much in the fourteenth to the Romans, and in other places moe. In his epistle to the Colossians he saith: "If ye be dead with Christ from the rudiments of the world, why, as living in the world, are ye led with traditions, (touch not, taste not, handle not;) all which do perish in abusing[8]?" And so forth. To Peter also it is said: "What

[Tit. i. 15.]

[7 wherein—consisted, not in Lat.]

[8 Coloss. ii. 20-22, ipso pereant abusu, Lat.; and Erasmus: whych all peryshe thorow the very abuse. Cranmer, 1539.]

Blood and strangled forbidden of the apostles.

God hath sanctified, that call not thou unclean." Therefore whereas, in the synodal epistle set forth by the apostles in the fifteenth of the Acts, both blood and strangled is forbidden and exempted from the meat of men, that commandment was not perpetual, but momentany, for a time only. For it pleased the apostles, for charity's sake, to bear therein with the Jewish nation, who otherwise would have been too stubborn and self-willed. The Jews at that time did every day so rifely hear the reading of the law, which did expressly forbid to eat blood and strangled, as if the preaching of the gospel had not begun to be sowed among them; and therefore they could not but be greatly offended to see the Gentiles so lavishly to use the things prohibited. Wherefore the apostles would have the Gentiles for a time to abstain from the things that otherwise were lawful enough, to see if peradventure by that means they might win the Jews to the faith of Christ. For the epistles, which Paul wrote a few years after the council at Hierusalem, do sufficiently argue that the decree of the apostles against blood and strangled was not perpetual. But the commandments given against things offered to idols, and against fornication, (in using whereof the Gentiles thought that they did not greatly offend,) are perpetual, because they be morals, and of the number[1] of the ten commandments. But of that matter I have spoken in another place.

And now, because I am come to make mention of the synodal decree ordained by the apostles and elders of the council at Hierusalem, I think it not amiss to recite unto you, dearly beloved, as a conclusion to this place, the whole epistle sent by the synod, because it doth bear an evident, full, and brief testimony, that the law is abrogated after that manner which I have declared. Now this is their epistle, or constitution: "The apostles, and elders, and brethren, send greetings unto the brethren which are of the Gentiles, that are in Antiochia, Syria, and Cilicia. Forasmuch as we have heard, that certain which departed from us have troubled you with words, and cumbered[2] your minds, saying, Ye must be circumcised, and keep the law; to whom we gave no such commandment: it seemed good therefore to us, when we were come together with one accord, to send chosen men unto you,

The decree of the synod held at Hierusalem.

[Acts xv. 23—29.]

[1 legum primarum atque, Lat.; of the first laws and, &c.]
[2 labefactantes, Lat.]

with our beloved Paul and Barnabas, men that have jeoparded their lives for the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. We have sent therefore Judas and Silas, which shall also tell you the same things by mouth. For it seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us, to charge you with no more than these necessary things; (that is to say) that ye abstain from things offered to idols, and from blood, and from strangled, and from fornication: from which if ye keep yourselves, ye shall do well. So fare ye well." This is word for word the catholic, the synodal, apostolic, and ecclesiastical epistle of the council held at Hierusalem, both brief and easy: for as the speech of truth is simple, so also may true religion and christian faith be easily laid down in very few and evident words.

The false apostles' doctrine. They subscribe their own names, and inscribe the names of them to whom the epistle is sent.

Immediately, in the beginning, after their accustomed manner of subscribing and inscribing their epistle, they do out of hand fall to, and touch the false apostles with whom Paul and Barnabas were in controversy, and do declare what kind of doctrine that of the false prophets was, which they had till then preached unto the churches as the catholic, true, and apostolic doctrine; to wit, that they which will be saved must be circumcised and keep the law of Moses. For they thought not that faith in Christ, without the help of the law, was sufficient enough to full and absolute justification. They made their boasts, that they were sent from Hierusalem[3] by the apostles and disciples of the Lord, who did all with one consent teach the same doctrine that they did preach; and they said that Paul with his companion Barnabas alone did, schismatic-like, sow in the churches a certain doctrine, peculiar to himself, touching faith which justified without the works of the law. Wherefore the apostles straightways, after the beginning of their epistle, do declare what they think of such false teachers and their unwarranted doctrine: "We confess," say they, "that those false teachers went from hence out of Hierusalem, but we deny that they were either sent or instructed by us. For we gave no commandment to any such." And so they do testify that it is utterly false, which those fellows taught, to wit, that the apostles and disciples of the Lord did preach that the law is requisite to full justification. Yea, they do yet go on more plainly to declare

[3 ex urbe sancta, Lat.]

what the doctrine of those false apostles was: "They trouble you," say they, "with words, and cumber your minds, commanding you to be circumcised and to keep the law." The sum therefore of their doctrine was, that, unless a man were circumcised and did keep the law, he could not be saved: whereby they did ascribe salvation to the keeping of the law, or to the merit of their works. Unto this doctrine the apostles
1 do attribute two perilous effects. The first is, "They trouble you with words." They be words, say they, which do rather amaze, than appease, comfort, or pacify your minds; yea, they do trouble you so, that ye cannot tell what to believe, or whereto to trust: and do moreover stir up strifes, discords, and jarrings among you. To these words of the apostles doth Paul seem to have alluded in his epistle to the Galatians,
[Gal. i. 6, 7.] saying: "I marvel that ye are so soon turned from Christ[1], which called you by grace, unto another gospel; which is not another gospel indeed, but that there be some which trouble you, and intend to pervert the gospel of Christ." The latter effect is,
2 "They cumber or weaken your minds." For they, which lean to the law and to works, have nothing stable or stedfast in their minds: for since the law requireth a most exact and absolute righteousness, and doth thereby kill, because such righteousness is not found in us; therefore those minds are weakened and subverted that are taught to lean to the works of the law, which law no man doth keep as of right he ought to do.
[Rom. iv. 14—16.] Therefore Paul to the Romans saith: "If they that do belong unto the law are heirs, then is faith vain, and the promise made of none effect[2]." And immediately after again: "Therefore the heritage is given by faith, as according to grace; that the promise may be sure to all the seed," &c. The false apostles therefore did subvert and weaken minds, by teaching that salvation is gotten by the law: which, verily, is a grievous judgment against those which with them do teach the like.

Paul his doctrine is allowed and commended to the churches.

Then also they do with like liberty go on to the other side, to shew their opinion of Paul and Barnabas; yea, they do adorn them, as their messengers, with a most holy tes-

[1 a Christo qui vocavit vos per gratiam, Lat.; and Erasmus: from Christ which called you by grace. Cranmer, 1539.]

[2 Nam lex iram operatur, Lat. omitted; for the law worketh wrath.]

timonial[3], to the end that they may among all men have the more authority, and that all men may understand that betwixt them twain and the other apostles there was a full agreement and consent of doctrine and religion. "We being gathered together with one accord," say they, "have sent messengers unto you." Lo here, of the false apostles they testified that they sent them not, nor gave them any commandment: but these men they send, and do with one accord give them a commandment. But who be they whom they send? "Our beloved Paul and Barnabas, which have jeoparded their lives for the name of Christ Jesus." These twain are most choice apostles, and holy, glorious martyrs, our dearly-beloved brethren, being of the same religion and doctrine with us, who have declared what their lives and doctrine is by their manifold virtues[4] and manful suffering of peril and dangers.

But for because Paul and Barnabas were themselves no small doers in that controversy and disputation, there were joined to them two other chosen men, Judas and Silas, to the end that they might indifferently, without suspicion, declare the things which in the council were alleged for both sides; as I mean to shew you in the exposition of the general decree.

The exposition of the general decree of the synod held at Hierusalem.

For now they do in few words comprehend the very decree of the whole and universal synod; in the laying down whereof they do first of all name the author of the decree, saying: "It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us." They first set down the Holy Ghost, and then themselves; making him to be the author of truth, and themselves to be the instruments by which he worketh: for he worketh in the church by the ministry of men. But men's authority without the inspiration of the Holy Ghost is none at all. Therefore do the apostles very significantly say: "It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us:" that is, after that we were assembled in that synod to treat of the matter of justification and of the law, (about which things Paul and his adversaries did stand in controversy,) we followed not our own judgments, neither did we use proofs of our own inventions; but, searching out and hearing the doctrine of the Holy Ghost, we do upon his warrant write this unto you.

[3 et elogio, Lat, omitted; and encomium.]
[4 editis, Lat.; displayed.]

In the second place, they do set down the sum of the decree, saying: "That we might not charge you with greater burdens than these necessary things, (that is to say) that ye abstain from things offered to idols, and from blood, and from strangled, and from fornication." Therefore, say they, the doctrine of the gospel which Paul hath hitherto preached with us, is sufficient to the obtaining of life and salvation. We intend not to lay any greater burden upon you than the doctrine of the gospel and abstinence from those few things. In which sentence they seem to have had an eye to the opinion of St Peter, who in the council said: "Ye know that I, being called by God, did go to the Gentiles, and did preach to them salvation through the gospel. Ye know, that to the Gentiles, being neither circumcised, nor keeping the law, while I preached to them faith in Christ Jesus, the Holy Ghost was given from above, so that their hearts were purified of God himself by faith, not by the law, and that they were made heirs of eternal life." And upon this he inferreth: "Now therefore why tempt ye God, to lay upon the disciples' necks a yoke, which neither we nor our fathers were able to bear? But we believe that through the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ we shall be saved, even as they." See here, St Peter called the law a burden and a yoke: and therefore, where the apostles say that they will not lay upon the church any greater burden, they do thereby signify that the law is flatly abrogated. They do therefore set the church free from the burden of the law, and do acquit it from all burdens like to the law.

Acts x.

[Acts xv. 7—11.]

Men have unjustly thrust upon the church of God many ceremonies.

We now do gather by those words of the apostles, that those burdensome and innumerable ceremonies, which the church hath received by councils and synods since the time of the apostles, were unjustly and against the apostolic spirit then laid upon the church, and at this day wickedly retained and defended in the church. For they in express words said: "It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us to burden you with no more than these things necessary."

But if any man object and say, that those ceremonies were for the rudeness of the people laid upon the churches' necks, as a rule or instruction[1] to guide or teach them by; mine answer is, that that kind of instruction is clean

[1] pædagogiam, Lat.]

taken away, which whosoever goeth about to reduce, he desireth nothing else but to bring in Judaism again. God knew very well what kind of church that would be, which he purposed to gather together of Jews and Gentiles; and yet he abolished those external ceremonies. Now who doth better know than God what is expedient, or not expedient, for his church? Therefore the things that be abolished were not expedient for the faithful: whereupon the apostles did rightly and very well pronounce; "It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and us not to lay upon you any greater burden." Let them therefore be ashamed of their doings, which lay so great a burden upon the shoulders of the church, that otherwise ought to be most free.

St James alloweth of St Peter's opinions.

Now also here is added the conclusion of the sentence: "Than these necessary things, (that is to say) that ye abstain from things offered to idols," &c. In these words they had an eye unto the sentence of St James, the apostle and brother of the Lord: for he, confirming and allowing of St Peter's opinion touching justification by faith and the not laying of the law upon the Gentiles' necks, doth allege a testimony of scripture out of Amos; who did foretell that the Jews should be cut off because of their sins, and that in their steads the Gentiles should be taken, among whom the true church of God should be; which was prefigured by the ruin and reparation of David's tabernacle. The same prophet did also foretell a reason how, and a cause why, the Gentiles should be received into the church; not for circumcision's sake, nor yet by the help of the law, but by grace through faith. For he saith: "The remnant of the men shall seek after the Lord, and all the heathen upon whom my name is called, saith the Lord, which doth all this: all these works of God are known to him from before the world began." Lo here, they shall seek the Lord, and shall be received into his fellowship, upon whom his name shall be called. This phrase of speech doth signify, that they which are elect shall be the sons of God; for upon them the name of the Lord is called, which are named the sons of God, and are his elect. Now the whole scripture attributeth that to faith. By faith, therefore, we are made the members of the church, and sons and[2] heirs to God our maker. But if any man do murmur against the counsel of

[Amos ix. 11, 12.]

[Acts xv. 17—18.]

[2] adeoque, Lat.; and so.]

God, and say, Why doth God so? let him think, that this deed is the deed and work of God, whom it is not lawful for man to gainsay, and all whose works are known from the beginning of the world to have been done in judgment and righteousness: whereupon it doth consequently follow, that this counsel of his is good and righteous, whereby he doth through faith in Christ join to himself and sanctify[1] the heathen nations[2].

Now upon these words of the prophet St James (subscribing as it were to St Peter's opinion) doth gather and infer: "Wherefore my sentence is, that we trouble not them which from among the Gentiles are turned to God:" that is to say, I think that they are not to be molested, or charged with the observation of the law. But lest the Gentiles, once hearing that the law was abolished, should thereby think that they might freely do whatsoever they would, and so by that means abuse their liberty; and also, against all charity, despise and give offence unto the Jewish brethren; therefore James addeth: "But I think it best for us to write unto them, that they abstain from filthiness of idols." For there were at that time certain converts of the Gentiles, who thought it lawful for them to enter into idol-temples, and be partakers of things offered to idols; because an idol is nothing, since there is but one only God alone: whereupon they gathered that those sacrifices were nothing, that they did neither good nor harm; and therefore that Christians might with a safe conscience be partakers of them. But St James and Paul also, 1 Cor. viii. ix. and x., will have the heathen converts to abstain utterly from the worship of idols, that is, from the idols themselves, and from those things which are in the idol-temples offered to false and feigned gods.

From some certain things must the saints abstain.

Moreover he addeth: "Let them beware of fornication." The Gentiles, verily, did by good laws forbid the adulteries and defilings of virgins and matrons, with very sharp punishments suppressing the violent deflowerers of honest women: but they thought it a very light and in a manner no fault at all for such to commit whoredom as did of their own accords set their chastity to sale; or if an unwedded man

[1 beatificat, Lat. See Vol. I. page 106, note 6.]

[2 citra legis observationem, Lat. omitted; without keeping of the law.]

should have to do with a single woman: and therefore the apostle James, even as Paul also, 1 Cor. vi. and 1 Thess. iv. doth very severely require the holy and pure use of the body, without all filthy and unclean beastliness.

Last of all[3], he willeth the Gentiles to be restrained of eating blood and strangled. He addeth the cause why, and saith: "For Moses of old time hath in every city them that preach him in the synagogues, where he is read every sabbath-day." Of which constitution (touching blood and strangled) I spake somewhat, before that I made this same digression.

Now therefore, since the matter is at that point, it is evident that they are without a cause offended with St James, which think that he did without all right and reason make and publish[4] this decree; and that the fruit of that synod was very perilous, nothing wholesome, and flatly contrary to christian liberty. For it is assuredly certain, that the meaning of James did in no point differ from the mind of St Paul, who nevertheless did very well and praiseworthily[5] say: "Let us follow the things that make for peace, and things wherewith we may one edify another. Destroy not the work of God for meat's sake. All things are pure; but it is evil for that man that eateth with offence. It is good neither to eat flesh, nor to drink wine, nor any thing whereby thy brother stumbleth, or falleth, or is made weak," &c. Romans xiv. It is also most certain, that St Paul, who was so sharply set to defend the christian liberty that he withstood Peter openly[6] at Antioch, would not have been behindhand to resist St James, if he had thought that this constitution either had been, or should be, prejudicial to christian liberty. Verily, he would neither have preached, nor yet commended, this tradition of the apostles to the churches of the Gentiles, if he had not thought that it had been both wholesome and profitable for them all to embrace. But he did preach and commend it unto the churches, as is to be seen in the sixteenth of the Acts: and therefore is St James without a cause murmured against of some, because he forbad to eat blood and strangled.

St James defended.

Finally, the conclusion of their epistle is: "From which

[3 in tertio loco, Lat.; in the third place.]
[4 aut proposuisse, Lat.] [5 cum laude omnium, Lat.]
[6 et in faciem, Lat.; and to the face.]

if ye keep your selves, ye do well; so fare ye well." They praise that abstinence, and teach it as a good work, because it is also commended to us in all the scriptures.

Thus have I digressed, not far, I trust, from our purpose, to speak of the decree of the apostolic synod held at Hierusalem: and thus much at this time touching the abrogation of the ceremonial laws.

The abrogation of the judicial laws.

It remaineth here for me to say somewhat concerning the abrogation of the judicial laws. Now therefore the judicial laws do seem to be abrogated in this sense, because no christian commonweal, no city or kingdom, is compelled to be bound and to receive those very same laws, which were by Moses in that nation, according to the time, place, and state, published and set out of old. Therefore every country hath free liberty to use such laws as are best and most requisite for the estate and necessity of every place, and of every time and persons: so yet that the substance of God's laws be not rejected, trodden down, and utterly neglected. For the things which are agreeable to the law of nature and the ten commandments, and whatsoever else God hath commanded to be punished[1], must not in any case be either clean forgotten, or lightly regarded. Now the end whereunto all these laws do tend is, that honesty may flourish, peace and public tranquillity be firmly maintained, and judgment and justice be rightly executed. Of which because I have at large disputed in the exposition of the precept[2], "Thou shalt do no murder," I will here be content to be so much the briefer.

The holy apostle Paul commandeth to obey the magistrate: he alloweth of the authority of the sword, which he confesseth that the magistrate hath not in vain received at the hand of God. And therefore he did not disallow or find fault with the election of the magistrate, the use of the sword, the execution of the judgment and justice, nor with upright and civil laws.

Now whosoever doth confer the laws and constitutions of princes, kings, emperors, or christian magistrates, which are to be found either in the Code, in the book of Digests or Pandects, in the volume of New Constitutions[3], or else in any

[1 quæ Deus semper et apud omnes gentes punire jussit, Lat.]

[2 Decade II. Sermons 6, 7, 8.]

[3 The Code is the Codex Justinianeus, or collection of imperial

other books of good laws of sundry nations, with these judicial laws of God; he must needs confess, that they draw very near in likeness, and do very well agree one with another[4]. Justinian, the emperor, forbad by law either to sell or otherwise to make away the possessions of the church[5] and things consecrated unto God. For the sincere confessing and pure maintaining of the catholic faith the emperors, Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius, did make a most excellent and holy law[6]. Constantine the great gave charge to Taurus, one of his lieutenants, to shut the idol temples, and with the sword to destroy such rebels as went about to set them open, and to sacrifice in them[7]. That laws were made for the relief of the poor, and that kings and emperors had a care over them, it is to be seen in more places than one of the emperor's laws and constitutions. It is very certain, that whosoever readeth the Code, Lib. I. tit. 2, he shall find much matter belonging to this argument[8]. For the honest training up of children, and the liberal sustaining of aged parents, there are very commendable laws in the books of the heathens[9]. Concerning the authority that parents have over their children, there is much and many things to be found in writing: likewise of wedlock, of incest, and unmeet marriages, Honorius, Arcadius, and many other princes, have made very tolerable and laudable decrees: where they speak also very well and wisely of

constitutions in twelve books, each of which is divided into titles, which was promulgated at Constantinople, under Justinian, Nov. 16, A.D. 534.—The Pandects, so called because of the *comprehensiveness* of the work, or Digests, so called because of the *arrangement* of its materials, was a compilation out of ancient juristical writings, which was ordered by Justinian, and finished in the close of A.D. 532. It contained fifty books, which were divided into seven parts, and subdivided into titles. After the code was completed, Justinian supplied what was deficient in that work by a collection which he called Novellæ Constitutiones. Theodosius II. had published his code of laws, A.D. 438; and his Novellæ, or additions, about nine years later.—See Smith's Dict. of Greek and Roman Antiq., and Duck's Jur. Civil. Lib. I. cap. 3. § 8. and cap. 4.]

[4 Vol. I. pages 197—205.] [5 Vol. I. page 331.]

[6 Vol. I. pages 34, 35, 328, 331.] [7 Vol. I. page 359.]

[8 De—orphanotrophis, et xenotrophis, et brephotrophis, et ptochotrophis, &c. In his omnibus locis piis aluntur seu recipiuntur pauperes, &c., &c. Pacii Isagog. in Cod. Lib. I. 3. p. 460.]

[9 Vol. I. pages 202, 273, 288—290.]

the law of divorcement[1]. But if I go on to add or oppose to every several title of the judicial laws contained in this sermon sundry and peculiar laws out of the decrees of christian princes, I shall, I know, be too tedious unto your patience; for then would this treatise pass the time of an ordinary sermon. Let it therefore suffice us at this time, by the declaration of these notes[2] to have opened and made a way to the diligent lovers of the truth to come to the understanding of other things, which we have here omitted; and that they may believe[3] that the substance of God's judicial laws is not taken away or abolished, but that the ordering and limitation of them is placed in the will and arbitrement of good christian princes; so yet that they ordain and appoint that which is just and equal, as the estate of time, place, and persons shall best require, that honesty and public peace may be thereby preserved[4], and God the Father duly honoured through his only-begotten Son Christ Jesus, to whom all praise is due for ever. For we do see that the apostles of Christ did neither require nor command any nation, in the administration of politic affairs, to bind themselves to the strict keeping of Moses' law. This rule must always be kept and observed.

[1 Pet. ii. 13, 14.] St Peter doth simply command, and say: "Submit yourselves to all manner ordinance of man[5] for the Lord's sake; whether it be unto the king, as having the preeminence, or unto rulers, as unto them that are sent of him for the punishment of evil-doers, but for the laud of them that do well." And

[Acts v. 29.] yet the same apostle affirmeth that "we ought rather to obey God than men," so often as men do publish laws against true religion, justice and equity; concerning which I spake in the exposition of the common place of the magistrate[6]. And so, thus much I thought good to say touching the abrogation of the judicial laws.

The likeness and difference of the old and new testament and people.

Now if every one of you do throughly ponder with himself the things that I have hitherto said touching the law of

[1 Bingham, Orig. Eccles. Book XVI. chap. 11.; and Book XXII. chap. 5.]

[2 et vestigiis, Lat.; and traces.]

[3 tenereque in præsentiarum, Lat.]

[4 in gente quavis, Lat. omitted; in every nation.]

[5 cuivis humanæ creaturæ, Lat.]

[6 Vol. I. pages 269, 316.]

God, the parts of the law, the use or effect, the fulfilling and abrogating of the same; it will be a thing of no difficulty to determine what every one ought to think concerning that point or title of this treatise, whereof I promised, in the beginning of this sermon, that I would speak somewhat toward the end; to wit, that the testament of the old and new church[7] is all one, and that there is but one way of true salvation to all that either are, or have been, saved in this world: and also, wherein the new testament doth differ from the old. For since I have already shewed[8] that all the points of the law have a respect and a kind of relation unto Christ, and that he was in the law preached[9] to the fathers to be the only Saviour, in whom alone they were to be saved; who is it which cannot perceive, that they had none other but the very same manner and way to be saved which we at this day do enjoy by Christ Jesus[10]? And yet, that this may appear more evident, I will not stick to bestow some pains to make this matter more manifest unto you with as plain a demonstration as possible may be, although a plainer cannot likely be than that which I have already shewed you.

The fathers and we are all one church, and people of one and the same testament.

Verily, there is no difference of the people, of the testament, of the church, or of the manner of salvation betwixt them, among whom there is found to be one and the same doctrine, the same faith, the same Spirit, the same hope, the same inheritance, the same expectation, the same invocation, and the same sacraments. If therefore I shall be able to prove that all these things were indifferently common to them of the old church as well as to us, then have I obtained that which I shot at; to wit, that in respect of the substance there neither was, nor is, any more than one testament; that the old fathers are one and the same people that we are, living in the same church and communion, and saved not in any other but in Christ alone, the Son of God, in whom also we look for salvation.

That the fathers and we have all one doctrine.

That they and we have all one and the same doctrine, I prove thus. Our doctrine is the doctrine of the gospel. But that the fathers were not without the same doctrine, it is evident by St Paul, who testifieth, saying: "God verily promised the gospel of God afore by his prophets in the holy [Rom. i. 1—4.]

[7 ecclesiæ Dei, Lat.] [8 apertissime, Lat.; most clearly.]
[9 propositum esse, Lat.] [10 by Christ Jesus, not in Lat.]

scriptures, of his Son, which was made of the seed of David after the flesh, and hath been declared to be the Son of God with power by the Spirit," &c. What could be said more plainly? The gospel, which is at this day preached[1], was of old promised by the prophets in the holy scriptures; to wit, that the Son of God should come into the world to save all faithful believers. This gospel also teacheth, that the faithful are not justified by the works of the law, but freely by grace through faith in Christ[2]. St Paul saith: [Rom. iii. 20—22.] "By the deeds of the law there shall no flesh be justified in his sight: for by the law cometh the knowledge of sin. But now is the righteousness of God declared without the law, being witnessed by the testimony of the law and the prophets: the righteousness of God cometh[3] by the faith of Christ Jesus unto all and upon all them that believe." With Paul St Peter also doth fully agree, where, in the synod held [Acts xv. 10, 11.] at Hierusalem, he saith: "Neither we nor our fathers were able to bear the yoke of the law, but do believe, even as they, to be saved through the grace of our Lord Christ Jesus." And so, consequently[4], in all other substantial and material points there is no difference in doctrine betwixt us and them.

The fathers and we have all one faith. [Rom. x. 17.] To proceed now: they, whose doctrine is all one, must of necessity have all one faith; "for faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God." What doth that argue, that Abraham and the rest of the[5] holy fathers are set before our eyes as examples of faith for us to follow? We see that it is so in the holy gospel of the Lord, and the sacred writings[6] of the apostles. But who would give us such foreign examples to imitate, as do not concern the thing for which they are given? Paul in many places, but especially in the fourth chapter to the Romans, sheweth that faith must be imputed to us for righteousness; as we read that it was imputed unto Abraham. Now that faith of his was not another, but the very same faith with ours, which resteth upon the promise of God and the blessed Seed: for he calleth Abraham the father, not of those only which are born of the circumcision, but of those also which walk in the steps

[1 ecclesiæ, Lat.; to the church.] [2 in Christ, not in Lat.]
[3 cometh, not in Lat.] [4 and so consequently, not in Lat.]
[5 patres nostri, Lat.; *our* fathers.]
[6 literis, Lat.; epistles.]

of the faith which was in Abraham before he was circumcised. Besides that also, the confirmation of the christian rule, I mean[7] the apostles' creed, or articles of our belief, is fetched out of the scriptures of the fathers of the old Testament; which is undoubtedly a most manifest argument that their faith and ours is the very same faith. They did believe in the Messiah that was then to come; and we believe that he is already come, and do more fully perceive and merely[8] see all that which was spoken of before in the prophets: as I will anon declare, when I come to shew the difference betwixt the two Testaments. [Rom. iv. 12.]

The fathers and we have all one Spirit.

That all one and the same Spirit did govern our forefathers and the people of the new covenant, who can doubt, considering that the Spirit of God is one alone; and that St Peter doth in express words testify, that the Spirit of Christ was in the prophets? And St Paul also saith: "Since we have the same spirit of faith, according to that which is written, I believed, and therefore I spake; and we believe, and therefore do we speak." Therefore, although the same apostle doth in another place say, that the faithful "have not received again the spirit of bondage unto fear, but the spirit of adoption, whereby they cry, Abba, Father;" yet doth he not deny but that the faithful fathers had the same spirit that we have. For even they also cried to God as to their father, although they obtained it not by the law (which terrifieth), but by the grace of Messiah. Again, the same apostle saith: "Whosoever are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God:" which sentence we may thus convert, and say, that the sons of God are led by the Spirit of God. But there is none, unless it be such an one as never read the scriptures, which will deny that the ancient fathers were the sons of God, and were so called both by the Lord himself, and also by his servant Moses. [1 Pet. i. 11.] [2 Cor. iv. 13.] [Rom. viii. 15.] [Rom. viii. 14.] Exod. iv. Deut. xiv.

What may be thought of that moreover, that our forefathers were called kings and priests, and so, consequently, a royal priesthood and a priestly kingdom? which names St Peter applied to the faithful believers in Christ Jesus. Now such a kingdom and priesthood cannot be, or consist, without the unction of the Spirit. [Exod. xix. 6; 1 Pet. ii. 9.]

[7 quam alias appellamus, Lat.]

[8 merely, absolutely, Johnson; exactius, Lat. but ed. 1577, nearly.]

The holy apostle John, I confess, in his gospel said: [John vii. 39.] "The Holy Ghost was not yet, because Jesus was not yet glorified." But as he spake not of the substance of the Holy Ghost, which is coeternal with the substance[1] of the Father and of the Son; so he doth not altogether deny that the fathers had the Holy Ghost. For in that place he speaketh of the excellent gift, which after the ascension of the Lord was poured out upon the people that did believe. For John himself, interpreting himself, doth immediately before say: "These words, 'Whosoever believeth on me, out of his belly shall flow rivers of water of life,' spake he of the Holy Ghost[2], which they that believe on him should receive." The gift therefore of the Holy Ghost was not at that time, when the Lord spake those words, so commonly and plentifully poured upon all men, as it was upon the faithful after the glorification of the Lord Jesus.

And verily our forefathers and the holy prophets could not have so precisely and expressly foretold all the mysteries of Christ and the church, which the evangelists and apostles do testify to be now accomplished and fulfilled[3], unless in their prophecies they had been governed by the very same Spirit wherewith the apostles were afterward instructed. For it is a wicked thing for us to think that the prophets and patriarchs[4] did, like madmen, babble they knew not what, and speak such words as they themselves understood not. Abraham saw the day of Christ, and was glad of it: for by that spiritual sight of his, he had[5] and felt within himself a certain kind of spiritual joy. How many times doth David in the Psalms testify, that the service of God and the holy congregation did delight him at the very heart! Which words he uttered not so much for the joy that he had in the external ceremonies, but for that he did, by the Spirit and by faith, behold in these ceremonies[6] the true Messiah and Saviour of the world[7]. And since it is evident that our forefathers were justified by the grace of God, it is manifest that that justification was not wrought without the Spirit of

[1 essentiæ, Lat.] [2 de Spiritu, Lat.]
[3 ad verbum, Lat.; to the letter.] [4 patres nostros, Lat.]
[5 capiens, Lat.]
[6 sive ritibus sacris, Lat. omitted; or holy rites.]
[7 Christum, Lat.; the true—world, not in Lat.]

God; through which Spirit even our justification at this day is wrought and finished. Therefore the fathers were governed by the very same Spirit that we of this age are directed by.

Of this opinion was St Augustine, whose words, dearly beloved, I mean to recite unto you word for word out of his second book, *de Peccato Orig. contra Pelag., et Celest.* Cap. 25. "Things to come," saith he, "were foreseen of the prophets by the same spirit of faith, by which they are of us believed to be already finished. For they, which of very faithful love could prophesy these things unto us, could not choose but be themselves partakers of the same. And whereupon is it that the apostle Peter saith, 'Why tempt ye God, to lay upon the disciples' necks the yoke that neither our fathers nor we were able to bear; but we believe that through the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ we shall be saved even as they:' whereupon is it, I say, that Peter saith this, but for because they are saved by the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, and not by Moses' law, by which doth come, not the salving, but the knowledge of sin? But now the righteousness of God is without the law made manifest, witnessed by the law and prophets. Therefore if it be now at this time made manifest, then must it needs be that it was before, although as then it were hidden: the hiding whereof was prefigured by the veil of the temple, which, when Christ died, was rent in pieces, for a signification that it was then revealed. And therefore this grace of the only Mediator of God and man, the man Christ Jesus, was then in the people of God, but it was hidden in them, as it were rain in a fleece, which God doth separate unto his inheritance, not of duty, but of his own voluntary will: but now, that fleece being as it were wrung out, that is, the Jewish people being reprobated, it is openly seen in all nations, as it were upon the bare ground in an open place[8]." This much out of Augustine.

[8 Eodem Spiritu fidei ab illis hæc futura videbantur, quo a nobis facta creduntur. Neque enim, qui nobis ista fideli dilectione prophetare potuerunt, eorum ipsi participes non fuerunt. Et unde est quod dicit Apostolus Petrus, Quid tentatis Deum imponere jugum supra collum discipulorum quod neque patres nostri neque nos potuimus portare; sed per gratiam Domini Jesu credimus salvi fieri, quemadmodum et illi; nisi quia et illi per gratiam Domini Jesu Christi salvi

The fathers had the same hope and inheritance that we have.

Now also there was set before the eyes of Israel a carnal and temporal felicity, which yet was not all that they hoped upon; for in that external and transitory felicity was shadowed the heavenly and eternal happiness. For the apostle, in the fourth and eleventh chapter to the Hebrews, saith that the fathers out of that visible and temporal inheritance did hope for another invisible and everlasting heritage. Neither was Christ to any other end so expressly promised them, nor the blessing and life in Christ for any other purpose so plainly laid before them, nor Christ himself almost in all their ceremonies so often prefigured, for any other intent, but that they thereby might be put in hope of the very same life into which we are received through Christ our Redeemer. For the Lord in the gospel saith, that we shall be gathered into the kingdom of heaven, into the same glory with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.

That salvation was not promised only, but also performed unto the fathers.

But here is an objection made, that life and salvation was promised only, and not performed, unto the fathers; but that they, being shut up in prison, did look for the coming of Messiah. I, for my part, do not find any thing in the scriptures to be written of such a prison, whereinto the holy patriarchs were fast locked up. Peter, verily, maketh mention of a prison; but in that prison he will have the disobedient, and not the obedient, spirits to be. But if any man object, that Christ descended to them below, we verily do not deny it: but yet we say withal, that he descended to the departed saints; that is, that he was gathered to the company of the blessed spirits, which were not in the place of punishment, that is, in torments, but in the joys of heaven; as the Lord himself confirmeth the same, when, being ready to descend to

Ad inferos.

Ad inferos.

facti sunt, non per legem Moysi, per quam non sanatio, sed cognitio est facta peccati? Nunc autem sine lege justitia Dei manifestata est, testificata per legem et prophetas. Si ergo nunc manifestata est, etiam tunc erat, sed occulta. Cujus occultationem significabat templi velum, quod est ad ejus significandam revelationem Christo moriente conscissum. Et tunc ergo ista gratia unius mediatoris Dei et hominum, hominis Christi Jesu, erat in populo Dei, sed tanquam in vellere pluvia, quam non debitam sed voluntariam segregat Deus hæreditati suæ, inerat latens: nunc autem, velut siccato illo vellere, hoc est, Judaico populo reprobato, in omnibus gentibus, tanquam in area, cernitur patens.—Aug. Opp. Par. 1531. De Peccat. Orig. cap. 25. Tom. VII. fol. 164. col. 3.]

them below, he did say unto the thief, "This day shalt thou be with me in Paradise." It may also by many places of scripture be proved, that the ancient holy fathers, from Adam's time until the death of Christ, at their departure out of this life did presently for Christ his sake enter not into prison, but into eternal life. For our Lord in the gospel after St Mark doth say: "God is not the God of the dead, but of the living." But he is the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob: therefore, consequently, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, do live, or are now alive; and yet not in body, corporally: for their bodies, being buried, were rotten long since; therefore their souls do live in joy; and their very bodies shall rise to judgment again. In the gospel after St Luke the Lord maketh mention of Abraham's bosom, into which are gathered all the blessed spirits; and of it he testifieth, that it is placed aloft, and that it is not a place of pain and punishment, but of joy and refreshing. And therefore we do often read in the scriptures of the holy fathers, that they were gathered unto their people; that is to say, that they were received into the fellowship of those fathers, with whom they had in this world remained in the same faith and same kind of religion. For the sequences and circumstances of those places do manifestly declare, that those words cannot be expounded corporally of the burial of the body. Again, in the gospel after St Matthew the Lord saith: "I say unto you, that many shall come out of the east and out of the west, and shall rest themselves with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven: but the children of the kingdom shall be cast out into utter darkness; there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth." Now if the Gentiles must be gathered into the kingdom of heaven, and that they must be placed in the fellowship of the fathers; then must it needs be that the fathers were already in heaven, and felt the joys thereof at that very time when the Lord spake these words: who also in the gospel after St John doth plainly say: "Abraham was glad to see my day; and he saw it, and rejoiced:" which saying although we understand to be spoken of the justification and joy of the conscience, yet do we not separate from it the joy of eternal life; because the one doth of necessity depend upon and follow the other.

[Mark xii. 27.] [Luke xvi. 22, 23.] [Matt. viii. 11, 12.] [John viii. 56.]

Moreover we must here consider the occasion upon which

these words of the Lord do seem to have been spoken[1]. The Lord had said: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, if a man keep my saying, he shall never taste of death:" which words the Jews took hold on, and said, "Abraham is dead, and the prophets are dead; and yet sayest thou, If a man will keep my saying, he shall never see death? What, art thou greater than our father Abraham, which is dead? and the prophets are dead also. Whom makest thou thyself?" To this the Lord made answer, and shewed that Abraham is quickened, or else preserved in life and heavenly joy, through faith in the sayings of Christ Jesus; and that, howsoever he is dead in body, yet notwithstanding his soul doth live in joy for ever with God, in whom he did put his trust. To this may be added, that David in the sixteenth psalm, calling God his hope, his expectation, and his inheritance, doth among other things say: "The Lord is always at my right hand. Therefore my heart is glad, my glory rejoiceth, and my flesh shall rest in hope. For thou wilt not leave my soul in hell, neither wilt thou suffer thine Holy One to see corruption. Thou wilt make me to know the path of life: in thy presence is the fulness of joy, and at thy right hand there be pleasures for evermore." And although St Peter and St Paul do in the Acts of the Apostles apply this testimony of David, as a thing spoken prophetically, unto Christ Jesus; yet notwithstanding, no man can deny but that the same may, after a certain manner, be referred unto David, who in that psalm maketh a profession of his faith, declareth his hope, and expresseth his *Michtam*, that is, his delight, or the arms or cognisance whereby he would be known[2]. Those words therefore do first appertain to Christ, and then to David and all the faithful: for the life and resurrection of Christ is the life and resurrection of the faithful. Again, in another place the same prophet saith: "I believe verily to see the goodness of the Lord in the land of the living." Now in the land of the living there is neither death nor dolour, but fulness of joy and everlasting pleasures: these joys and delights David by faith did look to obtain at the hand of God through Christ his Saviour, and did indeed, according to his hope, possess the same im-

[Psal. xxvii. 13].

[1 petitum ac pronunciatum, Lat.]

[2 insignia, aureolum, aut cleynodium, Lat. מִכְתָּם.]

mediately after he did depart out of this life, although it were many years after his death or ever Christ did come in the flesh; even as we also at this day are saved by him, although it be now one thousand five hundred and odd years ago since he in his flesh did depart from the earth[3].

But whereas Paul in the eleventh to the Hebrews saith; "And all these holy fathers, having through faith obtained good report, received not the promise, because God had provided a better thing for us, that they without us should not be made perfect;" I think simply, that it must be understood of the perfect[4] or full felicity, in which the holy fathers without us are not consummated, or made perfect; because there is yet behind the general resurrection of all flesh, which must first come: and when that is once finished, then is the felicity of all the saints consummated or made perfect; which felicity shall then not be given to the soul alone, but to the body also. St Peter also doth constantly affirm, that salvation is first of all by Christ purchased for the souls of the holy saints; then that they by the same Christ[5] are immediately upon their bodily death received to be partakers of the same salvation; and lastly, that in the end of the world the bodies of the saints being raised from death, as the bodies of all men be, shall appear before Christ to be judged by him. "The Lord," 1 Pet. iv.
saith he, "shall judge both the quick and the dead. For to this end was the gospel preached to the dead, that in the flesh they should be judged like men[6], but in the spirit they should live with God[7]:" that is to say, the death of Christ is[8] effectual to the fathers that died in the faith: so that now in soul they live with God, and that they again are to be judged in their flesh[9] like to all other men, at what time the Lord shall come to judge the quick and the dead. Therefore our salvation is not as yet perfect nor consummated, but shall be made perfect in the end of the world.

Moreover, our forefathers did not pray to any other but

[3 licet venerit ante annos mille quingentos quadraginta novem, Lat.; one thousand five hundred and forty-nine.]
[4 ut ipse Paulus dicit, Lat. omitted; as Paul himself speaks.]
[5 by the same Christ, not in Lat.]
[6 secundum homines, Lat.]
[7 juxta Deum, Lat.] [8 fuit, Lat.; was.]
[9 carne sive in corporibus suis, Lat.]

The fathers and we have all one manner of invocation.

God alone, the only Creator of all things; and did believe verily that he would be merciful unto mankind for the blessed Seed's sake. And although they did not so usually call upon God, as we at this day do, through the Mediator and intercessor Christ Jesus; even as the Lord in the gospel did himself testify, and say, "Hitherto have ye not asked any thing in my name: ask, and ye shall receive;" yet were they not utterly ignorant of the Mediator, for whose sake they were heard of the Lord. Daniel in the ninth chapter of his prophecy maketh his prayer, and desireth to be heard of God for the Lord's sake, that is, for the promised Christ his sake. Finally, so often as the holy saints did in their prayers say, "Remember, Lord, thy servants, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob," they did not look back to the persons or souls of the deceased patriarchs, but to the promise that was made to the patriarchs. Now since that promise is, "In thy seed shall all the kindreds of the earth be blessed;" and since Paul doth testify, that Christ is that blessed Seed; it followeth consequently, that the holy fathers in their prayers had an eye to the blessed Seed, and that they did desire God to hear them for Christ his sake. For in one place also the Lord promiseth deliverance to king Ezechias, saying: "I will defend this city for mine own sake, and for my servant David's sake." But in the seventh and twenty-eighth chapter of Esay's prophecy it is manifest that the city was spared for Christ his sake, the son of the virgin, which is the foundation placed in Sion; whom Ezechiel in the thirty-fourth chapter calleth by the name of David, and the gospel calleth David's son.

[John xvi. 24.]

[2 Kings xix. 34.]

[Matth. xxii. 42, 45.]

The fathers and we have the very same sacraments.

Last of all, the apostle Paul doth shew that the ancient fathers had amongst them the very same sacraments which we now have; as he doth in other places also make us partakers and apply to us both circumcision and the passover, the sacraments which were given to them of old; as doth appear in the second to the Colossians, and 1 Corinthians, the fifth chapter. In the tenth chapter he threateneth grievous punishment to the Corinthians at the hands of God, unless they abstain from things offered to idols, and from all heathenish sensuality. And thereupon he bringeth in the example of the Israelites, which he doth after this manner apply to his purpose: "I would not, brethren, that ye should be ignorant, that our

fathers were the church of God, and that they had the same sacraments which we at this day have. For they were all baptized unto Moses (that is, by Moses, or by the ministery of Moses) in the cloud and in the sea. (For the cloud and the sea were figures of baptism.) And they did also[1] eat of the same spiritual meat, and did drink of the same spiritual drink." And immediately after he interpreteth his own meaning, and saith: "For they drank of the spiritual rock that followed them; which rock was Christ." Manna verily, and the rock, did typically represent the spiritual food wherewith Christ refresheth both us and them, who is himself the bread and drink of eternal life. But although they did bodily, outwardly, and visibly receive their sacraments; yet for because they were destitute of faith and the Holy Ghost, because they were defiled with the worshipping of idols, with surfeiting and fornication, they displeased God, and were by him destroyed in the desert. And therefore, unless ye also abstain from those filthy vices, neither shall baptism nor the sacrament of the Lord's supper[2] avail you, but ye shall undoubtedly be destroyed of the Lord.

Since therefore it is by[3] most evident proofs of scripture declared, that the old fathers had the same sacraments, the same invocation of God, the same hope, expectation, and inheritance, the same Spirit, the same faith, and the same doctrine, which we at this day have; the mark, I hope, whereat I shot is fully hit; and I have, I trust, sufficiently proved, that the faithful fathers of the old testament, and we the believers of the new covenant, are one church and one people, which are all saved under one congregation, under one only testament, and by one and the same manner of means, to wit, by faith in Christ Jesu.

Of the difference of the old and new testament and people.

Thus much have I hitherto said touching the likeness, the agreement, and the unity betwixt the old and new testament, or people of God. I will now add somewhat touching the diversity betwixt them, and the things wherein they differ.

In the very substance, truly, thou canst find no diversity: the difference which is betwixt them doth consist in the manner of administration, in a few accidents, and certain circumstances,

[1 omnes, Lat. omitted; all.]
[2 aut spirituale epulum, Lat.; or the spiritual banquet.]
[3 his testimoniis, Lat.; these proofs.]

For to the promise or doctrine of faith, and to the chief and principal laws, there were annexed certain external things, which were added until the time of amendment; so that the whole ecclesiastical regiment, the manner of teaching the doctrine of godliness, and the outward worshsip of God, was among the old fathers of one sort, and is among us of another. But the especial things wherein they differ may be rehearsed and set down in these few principal points.

All things more evident in the new people or covenant than were in the old.

First and foremost, all things of the new covenant are more clear and manifest than those of the old testament. The preaching[1] of the old covenant had always in it, for the most part, some misty or cloudy thing, and was still covered and wrapped up in shadows and dim shews: but the publishing of the new testament is clear and manifest, so that it is called the light which is without all mists and darkness. Moses did with a vail cover his face, neither could the children of Israel behold his countenance: but we, beholding not only the countenance of Moses which is now uncovered, but the pleasant and amiable[2] face of Christ himself, do greatly rejoice to see our salvation openly revealed before our eyes. In that sense did the Lord say that his disciples were happy, where he brake out into these words: "Happy are the eyes which see the things that ye see. For I say unto you, that many prophets and kings desired to see the things that ye see, and saw them not; and to hear the things that ye hear, and heard them not." The just man Simeon did in this sense call himself as happy a man as lived, and did thereupon promise that he was willing to die, saying: "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word. For mine eyes have seen thy salvation; which thou hast prepared before the face of all people; to be a light to lighten the Gentiles, and to be the glory of thy people Israel."

[Luke ii. 29–32.]

But although our forefathers had not so much light as doth shine to us in Christ since his coming in the flesh, yet was that little light which they had sufficient to the getting of salvation by faith in Christ. Even we ourselves, although we see him[3] far more clearly than our forefathers did, do notwithstanding behold him but in a mist[4], in comparison of the bright-

[1 revelatio, Lat.]
[2 clarissimam et amœnissimam, Lat.]
[3 him, not in Lat.]
[4 in ænigmate, Lat.; 1 Cor. xiii. 12.]

ness wherein he shall appear[5]. For we shall hereafter see him[3] face to face in the glory of his majesty[6]: and yet notwithstanding even this sight of him[7], which now we have, is sufficient to salvation. Therefore it is a very fine similitude, and prettily said of them which say, "Although at day-break the brightness of the sun is not so great as it is at noon-day, yet wayfarers or travellers do not stay till the sun be at the highest, but take the morning before them to go their journey in, and have light enough to see the way." For in like manner they think, that to our forefathers even that little portion of light, which was in the morning, was sufficient by the leading of faith to bring them through all impediments to eternal felicity. In the mean time, we have great cause to rejoice[8], that Christ, the very sun and light of righteousness[9], doth, after the misty light of the day-star of the law[10], shine forth to us in the new testament.

The new testament hath no figures or types, but is the fulfilling of all figures.

Moreover the forefathers in the old testament had types, shadows, and figures of things to come, but we have now received the very thing itself which was to them prefigured. Therefore the thing which God did promise to them he hath performed and given to us. They verily did believe that Christ should come and deliver all the faithful from their sins; and we believe that he is already come, that he hath redeemed us, and hath fulfilled all that the prophets foretold of him. Therefore the Lord in the gospel said: "The prophets and the law prophesied unto John; since that time the kingdom of God is preached, and suffereth violence of every man." [Luke xvi. 16.] Whereupon it is gathered, when the thing prefigured is come and present, that then the figures and shadows, which did foreshew the things to come, do come to an end and vanish away. Therefore the yoke and burden, which our fathers did bear, is thereby taken from our necks. The worshipping of God, which they did use externally, was very busy[11] and

Christ hath taken all burdens from our shoulders.

[5 in comparison—appear, not in Lat.]

[6 The Latin is only, in gloria, in glory.]

[7 of him, not in Lat.]

[8 et propter quod æternas Deo nostro agamus gratias, Lat. omitted; and we should render to our God everlasting thanks for it.]

[9 clarissimus Sol, Lat.]

[10 post luciferum istum et stellas lucidissimas, Lat.; after that day-star and the very bright stars.—of the law, not in Lat.]

[11 operosus, Lat.]

burdensome; as the Aaronical priesthood, the tabernacle or temple that was to be throughly furnished with most exquisite things and instruments, their sundry sorts of sacrifices, and many moe ceremonies like unto these. Now from all this cost and business we, which be the people of the new covenant, are freely disburdened and set at liberty. And he by whom we are disburdened is Jesus Christ, in whom alone we have all things necessary to life and salvation. For it pleased God the Father to recapitulate in him, and, as St Paul saith, to bring into a sum[1], all things requisite to life and salvation; that the things which seemed before to be dispersed here and there should in Christ alone be fully exhibited and brought unto us. For Christ is the fulfilling of all the types and ceremonies; by whose Spirit since we do now possess the thing prefigured, we have no longer need of the representing types and shadows. The external things that Christ hath ordained are very few, and of very small cost. Therefore the people of the new testament doth enjoy a passing great and ample liberty.

To this, I suppose, doth belong that excellent place of St Paul, which is to be seen in the fourth to the Galatians, where, in handling this matter diligently, he feigneth that there are two mothers, the one whereof doth gender to bondage, and the other unto liberty; and that he doth under the type of Agar and Sara: by which he noteth the two doctrines; that of the law, and that of the gospel. That of the law gendereth to bondage, but that of the gospel doth gender unto liberty. Therefore the law did gender the holy fathers and the prophets unto bondage, not that they should abide bond-slaves for ever, but that it might keep them under discipline; yea, that it might lead them unto Christ, the full perfection of the law. The liberty of the fathers was by the weight and heap of ceremonies so oppressed and covered, that although they were free in spirit before the Lord, yet notwithstanding they did in outward shew differ little or nothing from very bond-slaves, by reason of the burden of the law that lay upon their shoulders. For insomuch as the law was not as yet abrogated, they were compelled precisely to observe it. But when Christ was come and had fulfilled all things, then did the shadows vanish away, and that

Gal. iv.

The bondage of the law in the old testament.

[1 Eph. i. 10. See Vol. I. page 156.]

heavy yoke was taken from the neck of us Christians. So by this means our mother Sara gendereth us unto liberty. She is the mother of us all. Of that mother (which is also called the holy mother church) we have the seed of life: she hath fashioned us, and brought us forth into the light; she colleth[2] us in her bosom, wherein she carrieth both milk and meat, (I mean the word of God,) to nourish, save, and bring us up.

The people of the new testament are new and without all number.

Now the bonds being cancelled, and the middle wall, which was a stop, being broken down, God doth more liberally rule his church, and not retain it any longer under so strait a custody. For neither is the people of God contained within the bounds of the land of promise; for they are dispersed to the ends of the world: neither are the circumcised, and those that keep the law, his people now, (although it is not to be doubted but that even then, when circumcision was of force[3], he had some that were his people among the Gentiles, as Job, and other moe which he himself did know;) but those are his people, which do acknowledge Christ, although they be neither circumcised nor busied with the law. This is a new people, gathered together out of all the world by faith and the Holy Ghost. To this new testament hath Christ given his own name: wherein the Jews have none inheritance, unless they forsake their stubborn opinion of the law, and cleave to Christ alone without affiance in the law. All the books of the prophets are fully fraughted with testimonies touching the calling of the Gentiles unto the communion and fellowship of God, and also touching the reprobation of the Jews, who for their unreclaimable affiance in the law are utterly rejected.

So that the people of this testament are after the name of Christ called Christians.

The gifts of the new testament are most ample and manifold.

Furthermore, the apostle Paul putteth another difference betwixt the two testaments, alluding to the prophecy of Jeremy, as it is to be seen in the eighth chapter of his Epistle to the Hebrews. For he attributeth to the people of the new testament certain excellent gifts, to wit, absolute and full remission of their sins: for he saith, "Because I will be merciful to their unrighteousnesses, and I will no more remember their sins and iniquities." He doth also attribute to the people of the new testament a most exquisite refor-

[2] fovet, Lat. To coll: to embrace.]
[3] when—of force, not in Lat.]

mation and absolute illumination of their minds: for he saith, "I will plant my laws in their minds, and write them in their hearts; and then shall no man teach his neighbour, or his brother, saying, Know the Lord; for they shall all know me, from the little unto the great." But of the law it is written, that it was graven in tables of stone. Yet for all this let no man think that the fathers obtained no remission of their sins. For as they by faith had free forgiveness of their sins, so did God[1] both write his law and pour his Spirit into their hearts. For which of us at this day can say, that we excel in knowledge and in faith[2] either Abraham, Moses, Samuel, David, Esay, Daniel, or Zacharias? So then the difference is not, in that the fathers of the old testament were without the remission of sins and the illumination of the Holy Ghost, and that we alone, which are the people of the new testament, have obtained them: but the difference doth consist in the greatness, ampleness, largeness, and plentifulness of the gifts, to wit, because they are more liberally bestowed and more plentifully poured out upon more now than they were of old. For all nations, being called do not by dropmeal, but by whole handfuls, draw the water of life. The Lord doth pour out his Spirit upon all flesh. Of old God was known in Jury only; but now, since Christ is come into the world, his disciples are gone through all the corners of the earth, and teach all kingdoms to know the Lord. Of old the worthy men[3] and prophets were not so many but that they might be numbered; because the land of promise in a manner alone did breed such good and holy men; but who is at this day able to reckon all the kings, princes, noblemen, prophets, bishops, doctors, martyrs, and excellent persons of every sex, estate, and age, which have been and are at this day bred, not only in Jurie, but also in Arabia, Idumea, Phœnicia, Mesopotamia, Persia, Asia, Egypt, Africa, Greece, Italy, the east, the south, the west, and the north? Free remission of sins is preached to all countries and kingdoms. All the faithful in every nation under heaven are through Christ received into the grace and favour of God the Father. All have received in great abundance the gift

[1 olim quoque, Lat.; of old also.]
[2 illuminatione, Lat. omitted; and in illumination.]
[3 heroes, Lat. omitted.]

of the Holy Ghost. All have prophesied. All have known the Lord.

Finally, the law maketh no man perfect[4]. The gospel simply maketh perfect, and doth directly, without any stop, lead us to Christ, and causeth us to rest and to content ourselves in him alone.

Last of all, I will not slip over this difference, although it be of little weight, and such an one as other like unto it may be easily observed; that the law, appointing out a certain land, peculiarly separated from other nations, did promise to the old fathers the possession of the same, so long as they did keep the law; but if they did transgress the law, then did it threaten that they should be rooted up and utterly cast out of that good land. But to us no one limited land is expressly promised: "for the earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof; the round world, and all that therein is." But although he doth not here assign to us, as he did to our forefathers of old, any certain or peculiar thing, yet doth he not at any time neglect us: for he feedeth, blesseth, and preserveth us in every land and nation. Therefore the promises which were of old made to our forefathers concerning the land of promise, being come to an end, are utterly vanished away; so that they, which for an age or two ago did incite many nations to arm themselves for the recovery of the holy land, do seem to have been besides their wits. Christ by his coming into the world hath sanctified all the earth: for there are in every nation of the world some sons and heirs of God and his kingdom.

The new testament hath no promise of any certain earthly country.

[Psal. xxiv. 1.]

Touching the likeness and agreement, the unlikeness and difference of both, I mean, the old and new testaments or people, I have therefore spoken the more briefly, because I have in the first sermon of the first decade, and in the sixth sermon of the third decade, already handled the selfsame matter. Finally, I have but shortly touched the abrogation of the law, because I did a good while ago set forth two treatises; the one Of the ancient faith[5], the other Of the only and eternal covenant of God[6]; which treatises I know to be familiar among you.

[4 Sed ducebat ad spem potiorem, Lat. omitted; but led to a better hope.]

[5 See the Old Faith, in Bp. Coverdale's Works, Fruitful Lessons, Parker Soc. ed. The Latin translation was published at Zurich, 1544.]

[6 This latter treatise,—De Testamento seu Fœdere Dei unico et

I will not here, in the conclusion, recapitulate unto you the special points of this sermon; partly because I have already been somewhat too long; and partly because I have, as I hope, used so plain an order, that every point is indifferently well settled in every man's memory. Thus have I, by God's grace and sufferance, made an end to treat of God's holy law, wherein I have been occupied a good sort of days by several sermons. Blessed be God and our heavenly Father world without end; whom I beseech to bless us all through Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour. Amen.

OF CHRISTIAN LIBERTY, AND OF OFFENCES. OF GOOD WORKS, AND THE REWARD THEREOF.

THE NINTH SERMON.

I HAVE already through many sermons discoursed long upon God's laws. Now therefore, because upon the consideration and handling of the law there do arise certain points not[1] to be omitted, which do depend upon, and are annexed hand in hand unto, the law; of which sort are christian liberty, good works, the reward[2] of good works; [3]sin, and the reward or punishment of sin; I will speak of them in order, as God shall put into my mouth: whom I shall desire you to pray unto with me, beseeching him not to suffer me to speak, in these or other points of holy doctrine, the thing that shall sound against his holy will.

Of christian liberty.

Upon the abrogation of the law doth christian liberty depend and follow, as the effect of the abrogating of the law; which liberty doth minister us occasion to speak of offences.

Now concerning christian liberty the most holy apostle of Christ, St Paul, hath reasoned very diligently and largely; whereby we may gather that the consideration of christian liberty is neither of no weight, nor yet of little profit. But the treatise thereof is especially necessary to us of this age,

æterno,—Bullinger published at Zurich, A.D. 1534, and afterwards appended to his Commentaries in Epistolas Apostolorum canonicas septem.]

[1 non contemnenda, Lat. omitted; not to be thought lightly of.]

[2 merces sive præmium, Lat.]

[3 denique, Lat. omitted; lastly.]

among whom there are no small number of men, which do either not understand what christian liberty is; or else, if they know it, do foully abuse it, thereby to fulfil the lusts of the flesh. I will therefore tell you who is the deliverer that setteth us at liberty; who they are that he setteth at liberty; and wherein[4] and how far forth he setteth them at liberty; which things being once known, it will be an easy matter to perceive what christian liberty is, what the property or disposition of those is which are so set at liberty, and how far forth they must beware from giving offence to any man, and from abusing their granted liberty.

Who is our deliverer.

There is none other deliverer promised, given[5], and preached unto us, than Christ Jesus, the Son of God. For he which doth deliver other men, must be himself free from the bands wherewith they are tied, that wish and look to be set at liberty. But throughout all ages there is none such to be found in all the world, nor yet in heaven, but Jesus Christ[6] alone, the Son of God; who for that cause did in the gospel say, "If the Son set you at liberty, then are ye free indeed." [John viii. 36.]

Who they be that Christ doth set at liberty.

Now they, whom the Lord delivereth, are bond-slaves; wherefore he doth deliver them from bondage, and doth incorporate them in the liberty of the sons of God. He doth set all bond-servants at liberty, excluding none but such as do by their own default, their own unbelief and disobedience, exclude themselves. For the coming of the Son of God was to set all such at liberty as were entangled in bondage. Therefore he doth so far forth deliver us, as we are bond-servants. For bondage and liberty are one opposed and contrary to the other, so that without the consideration of the one we cannot conceive the meaning of the other. Wherefore I think it best here to speak so much of bondage as this present argument shall seem to require.

What bondage is.

First, bondage is nothing else but the state or condition wherein bond-servants be. Now those that are in bondage are either bondmen born, or else made bond-servants. The children that issue of bond-servants are bond-slaves born. The other, that are made bond-servants, are so made either by captivity, whereupon they take their names, and are called captives; for Pomponius saith, Slaves were thereupon so

[4] a qua re, Lat.] [5] exhibetur, Lat.]
[6] Jesus Christ, not in Lat.]

called, because the captains commanded to sell them for money, when they were in wars taken captives by their soldiers; and so by that means to spare their life and save them: these bondmen are in Latin also called *Mancipia, eo quod ab hostibus manu caperentur*, because they were taken prisoners by the hand of their enemies: or else they are made bondslaves by the civil law; as when a freeman, above twenty years of age, doth for lucre sake suffer himself to be sold for money[1]. Bondmen therefore have lost all liberty, and do wholly hang upon their masters' government, in whose power it lieth to kill them if they list.

Two sorts of bondage. Bodily bondage.

Now of bondage there are two sorts; the politic[2], and the spiritual. The politic bondage is not by grace and the preaching of the gospel taken out of the church of the faithful, so that there should be no bondmen at all, or that they should not do their duty, or not do the service that of right they do owe. For the apostle Paul saith: "Let every man walk according as he is called[3]. And so ordain I in all churches. Art thou called being a servant? care not for it: but yet if thou mayest be free, use it rather." And again: "Servants, obey them that are your bodily masters with fear and trembling and singleness of heart, as unto Christ; not with eye-service, as men-pleasers; but as the servants of Christ, doing the will of God from the heart; with good will serving the Lord, and not men; knowing that whatsoever good thing any man doth, that shall he receive again of the Lord, whether he be bond or free." And in his epistle to Timothy he saith: "Let as many servants as are under the yoke count their masters worthy of all honour, that the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphemed. And they which have believing masters, despise them not, because they are brethren; but rather do service, forasmuch as they are believ-

[1 Cor. vii. 17, 21.]

[Eph. vi. 5—8.]

[1 Servi autem ex eo appellati sunt, quod Imperatores captivos vendere, ac per hoc servare nec occidere solent: qui etiam *mancipia* dicti sunt, eo quod ab hostibus manu capiuntur. Servi autem aut nascuntur, aut fiunt: nascuntur ex ancillis nostris; fiunt autem jure gentium, i. e. ex captivitate; aut jure civili, cum liber homo major 20 annis ad pretium participandum sese venundari passus est.—Corp. Jur. Civil. Par. 1628, Tom. I. p. 9, Instit. Lib. I. tit. 3, de jure personarum.]

[2 sive civilis, Lat.]

[3 ut vocavit eum Dominus, Lat.]

ing and beloved, and such as are partakers of the benefit[4]." And yet in this bondage the faithful have this comfort by the preaching of the gospel, that howsoever they be bond in body, yet they are free in mind and soul. For the apostle again doth say: "He that is called a bondman in the Lord is the Lord's freeman; likewise he that is called free is bond to Christ." A paradox of liberty. [1 Cor. vii. 22.]

This is a comfort to the faithful in all their afflictions, which know that their spirit is safe and free, howsoever their body is straitly imprisoned or sharply tormented. Therefore the saints are at their liberty, although they be never so narrowly looked to and shut up in custody; they are victorers and vanquishers, howsoever they are bound and oppressed; finally, they enjoy most exquisite pleasures even then when they are vexed[5] with most infinite evils. I know that the children of this world do mock and scoff at these pleasures and liberty of the faithful believers, as though they were mere dreams and fantasies of very fools and asses: but God[6] doth soundly pay them home for their scoffs and mockery, not in the world to come only, but also in this present life; while they themselves, like miserable caitiffs, being in extreme captivity, do notwithstanding even in that slavery[7] think themselves at liberty and in most absolute felicity. For they serve a filthy service in detestable slavery, making themselves bondmen to abominable whoredom, to beastly mad drunkenness, to the wicked mammon[8], and to other most vile pleasures, wherein they die and rot with endless shame and infamy. But of the service and afflictions of the saints, who do even in their afflictions enjoy their liberty and rejoice in the Lord, the apostle Paul speaketh where he saith: "We are troubled on every side, yet are we not made pensive; we are in poverty[9], but not in extreme poverty; we suffer persecution, but are not utterly forsaken therein; we are cast down, but we perish not; bearing about

[4] 1 Tim. vi. 1, 2, et qui beneficia rependere possunt, Lat.]

[5] acerbissime, Lat.]

[6] justo judici, Lat. omitted; the righteous judge.]

[7] Rather, inasmuch as they are in most extreme captivity and thrice miserable, even then when they think themselves most at liberty, &c.]

[8] Luke xvi. 9; mammonæ iniquitatis, Lat. and Vulg.]

[9] laboramus, Lat.]

always in the body the dying of the Lord Jesus, that the life of Jesus might also appear in our body[1]." And again: "In all things we do our endeavour to shew ourselves as doth become the ministers of Christ; in much suffering, in afflictions in necessities, in sorrows, in stripes, in imprisonments, in seditions, in labours, in watchings, in fastings; in glory and ignominy, in reproaches[2] and praises; as deceivers, and yet speakers of truth; as unknown, and yet known; as dying, and lo, we live; as chastened, and not killed; as sorrowful, and yet always rejoicing; as poor, and yet making many rich; as having nothing, and yet possessing all things." Lo, here ye see how the saints in extreme servitude have a cheerful consolation and are always at their liberty: as is to be seen by infinite examples in the Acts of the Apostles, and other ecclesiastical histories.

[2 Cor. vi. 4, 5, 8—10.]

Spiritual bondage.

Now we come to the second part of bondage. The spiritual bondage hath a certain likeness to the bodily servitude. For Adam by his own fault became a bondman; and we of him are all born bondmen[3]. He was once at liberty, and had the Lord to be his friend and favourer[4]; but he did disloyally revolt from God, and got himself another master, the devil, a tyrant as cruel as may be, who for his sin having gotten power over him did, like a merciless lord, miserably handle him like a bond-servant. Now we of our corrupt grandsire are born corrupt and sinners, and for our sin are also under the devil's dominion; we are in danger of[5] the law, and of the curse thereof: for we are the bond-slaves of sin; we are made subject to sundry calamities by reason of our sin. This therefore is called the spiritual bondage, not because it is only in the mind of man, but because of the opposition whereby it is opposed to the bodily bondage[6]. For otherwise sin hath made our body also subject to the curse: neither do we sin in mind alone, but in the body also; for every part and all the members of our bodies are subject unto

[1 2 Cor. iv. 8—10, in nostra mortali carne, Lat.; in our mortal flesh: as in verse 11.]

[2 per gloriam—per convicia, Lat.]

[3 nascimur ex servo servi, Lat.]

[4 habuerat Dominum optimum et clementissimum, Lat.]

[5 subjicimur, Lat. Tyndale's Doct. Treat. ed. P. S. p. 9, n. 6.]

[6 civili vel corporali, Lat.; to civil or bodily.]

sin, and infected with iniquity. Therefore we serve in most miserable bondage, while, being under the devil's dominion, we do the things that please the flesh, by the egging on of evil affections, to the bringing forth of fruit, or rather to the making of abortion with peril of our lives, to the devil, our cruel and our rigorous master; for this verily is our hardest and most lamentable servitude and bondage.

Abortion is made when a woman is before her time delivered of her child.

Now on the other side, let us see what christian liberty is; that is to say, from what, and how far forth, the Lord hath made us free. In one word we do briefly say, that Christ our Lord hath delivered us from a grievous bondage[7]; to wit, that he hath so far forth made us free, as we by sin[8] were slaves and bond-servants. This we may more largely expound and say: The Son of God came into this world; and, having first oppressed the tyranny of Satan and crushed his head by his death and passion, he hath translated us into his own kingdom, and hath made himself our Lord and king. Secondarily, he hath adopted us to be the sons of God, and with his blessing took away the bitter curse of the law; for he took away all sins, and purged all the faithful from their iniquities. Thirdly, he did most liberally bestow the free gift of the Holy Ghost, to the end that the sons of God should willingly and of their own accord submit themselves to the will of God, and to do the things that the Lord would have them: for the hatred of the law doth not remain, although the weakness of the flesh abideth still. Lastly, the same our Lord and King hath taken from the shoulders of his elect the burden of the law, the types and figures, with all the costs belonging to the same; and hath forbidden us, being once set at liberty, to entangle ourselves again with any laws and traditions of men. Of all this being laid together we make this definition: To deliver is to make free, and to set at liberty from bondage. He is free, or manumissed, that, being delivered from bondage, doth enjoy his liberty: therefore manumission, or liberty, is nothing else but the state of him that is made free; the commodity, I say, which a free-made man hath received and doth enjoy by reason of his deliverance; to wit, in that he, being delivered from the tyranny of Satan, from sin, from the curse of the

The spiritual liberty, and how far forth we are made free by Christ.

Christian liberty.

[7 a gravi illa servitute, Lat.; from that grievous bondage.]

[8 by sin, not in Lat.]

law, and from death, is made the son of God and heir of everlasting life; and also that he hath received the Spirit of liberty, by which he doth wholly give himself to be the servant of God, to do him service all his life long; and lastly, that, being delivered from the law of Moses and from all mortal men[1], he doth altogether depend upon the gospel only, having at liberty free use of external things, as of meat, of drink, of clothing, and of such like indifferent things: and in these three last rehearsed points doth christian liberty chiefly consist.

Testimonies to prove christian liberty by.

Now to this I will add such testimonies of scripture as shall both better confirm and more plainly declare my exposition. And, first of all, I will allege those testimonies which are to be found in the books of the holy evangelists; and then those that are extant in the writings of the apostles.

Luke i.

Zacharias the priest, and father of John Baptist, in his hymn of thanksgiving, Luke i. doth declare the truth and goodness of God in performing that to us which he promised to our forefathers; to wit, "That we, being delivered out of the hands of our enemies, might serve him without fear in holiness and righteousness before him all the days of our life." In this testimony of his we have the true liberty; that freedom, I mean, wherein we, being by the Lord delivered from all our enemies, both visible and invisible, should no longer serve them with fear, but[2] serve our God[3] in joy and gladness. There is added also the manner and order how to serve him; "in holiness and righteousness." Holiness doth cut off and cast away all uncleanness and inconveniency[4]: righteousness giveth to every man that which is due, to wit, the things which we of duty do owe to every man, and doth contain in it both freedom and benevolence. And in this kind of service do they, which are made free, serve the Lord their God, not for a day or two, or a certain few years, but all the days of their life. Therefore true christian liberty is the perpetual service which we owe and do to God.

In the eighth chapter of St John's gospel, to the Jews

[1 ab omnibus hominum legibus, Lat.; from all laws of mortal men, ed. 1577.]

[2 citra timorem, Lat.; without fear.]

[3 ipsi Deo, Lat.; God himself.]

[4 intemperantiam, Lat.; incontinency, ed. 1577.]

which made great brags of the vain and silly liberty which they received of their ancestors, Christ our Lord maketh this objection: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, that whosoever committeth sin, he is the servant of sin. And the servant abideth not in the house for ever; but the Son abideth for ever: if the Son therefore shall make you free, then are ye free indeed." In these words he[5] maketh mention both of bondage and of liberty. He is a bondman to sin, as to a cruel master or a never-contented tyrant, whosoever doth commit any sin; for he doth obey, as one that is bound to sin. Such bondmen are all the sons of men; whose punishment is[6] to have none inheritance in their Father's house, which is the heavenly Hierusalem[7]. As for those which the Son of God restoreth to freedom, they are partakers of the heavenly kingdom and fellow-heirs with the Son of God. But Christ maketh none free but them that are faithful[8]: therefore the sons of God and fellow-heirs of Christ are for Christ his sake their only deliverer made free and set at liberty. Neither is there any other in heaven or in earth, beside Christ Jesu, which is able to set us at freedom and at liberty. John viii.

Paul in the sixth chapter to the Romans saith: "Let not sin reign in your mortal bodies, that ye should thereunto obey by the lusts of it[9]; neither give ye your members as instruments[10] of unrighteousness unto sin; but give yourselves unto God, as they that are alive from the dead, and your members as instruments[10] of righteousness unto God. For sin shall not have power over you; because ye are not under the law, but under grace." In these words he exhorteth them that are purged and made free by Christ to live holily in their spiritual bondage. Now he saith not, Let not sin be in you, or in your mortal body: but he saith, "Let not sin reign in you, or in your mortal body." But when reigneth sin? Forsooth sin reigneth then, when we obey Rom. vi.

[5 Dominus, Lat.]

[6 id supplicii conjunctum, imo irrogatum habentes, Lat.; whose punishment is adjoined, nay imposed.]

[7 in cœlesti utique patria, Lat.; which is the heavenly country.]

[8 credentes, Lat.; believers.]

[9 ut obediatis ei per cupiditates ejus, Lat. and Erasmus. That ye shulde ther unto obey by the lustes of it. Cranmer, 1539.]

[10 arma, Lat.]

it through the lusts thereof; that is, when we resist not, but do fulfil the lusts of the flesh. Sin therefore doth not reign in our mortal body, so long as it is but felt in the body and not obeyed or permitted to rule, but rather resisted and trod under foot[1]. The same sentence doth he expound by another somewhat more easy to be understood: I would not have you to permit your members to sin, as to a tyrant, to use them as instruments to work all unrighteousness: I rather require you to give yourselves to be ruled and governed by God. For since he hath set you free from death and brought you to life again, it is requisite[2] that ye should give your members to God, as lively instruments, to work all righteousness. And that shall ye be easily able to do, because "ye are not under the law, but under grace."

Upon this doth all the rest of that chapter depend[3] unto the end. "What then?" saith he; "shall we sin, because we are not under the law, but under grace? God forbid. Know ye not, how that to whomsoever ye commit yourselves as servants to obey, his servants ye are to whom ye obey; whether it be of sin unto death, or of obedience unto righteousness? But God be thanked, that ye were the servants of sin, but ye have obeyed with heart the form of doctrine into the which ye are brought unto[4]. Being then made free from sin, ye are become the servants of righteousness." And yet he sheweth, that the freemen of Christ do not abuse their liberty, and give themselves again to be governed by their old and tyrannous master sin: for he maketh sin and righteousness to be, as it were, two masters; and addeth to each of them the hire, or reward, that they give to their servants; the one life, the other death. Lastly, he saith generally, that we are his servants to whom we give ourselves to obey. Upon which he inferreth: "Being redeemed by the grace of God from the bondage of sin, and from death which is the reward of sin, we are translated into the bondage of righteousness, (whose reward is life[5],) that thereby we may live."

[1 quin calcantur magis cupiditates, Lat.]

[2 æquum est, Lat.; it is just.] [3 huc pertinent, Lat.]

[4 in eam in quam traducti estis formam doctrinæ, Lat. and Erasmus: unto the rule of the doctrine that ye be brought unto, Cranmer, 1539; whereto ye were delivered, Marg. Auth. Ver.]

[5 whose—life, not in Lat.]

For he doth more significantly express his meaning in that which followeth, saying: "I speak after the manner of men, because of the infirmity of your flesh. As ye have given your members servants to uncleanness and iniquity unto iniquity; even so now give your members servants to righteousness unto holiness. For when ye were the servants of sin, ye were free from righteousness. What fruit had ye then in those things, whereof ye are now ashamed? for the end of those things is death. But now ye, being made free from sin and made the servants of God, have your fruit unto holiness, and the end everlasting life. For the reward of sin is death; but the gift of God is eternal life through Jesus Christ our Lord." All this is so plain and evident, that it needeth no larger exposition of mine.

And yet in the seventh chapter next following he doth by comparison in a parable more fully expound all that he said before. "The woman," saith he, "which is in subjection to the man, is by the law bound to the man as long as he liveth. If, while the man liveth, she go aside to another, she is counted an adulteress; but if the man be dead, she may couple herself with another man. Even so, I say, we are dead to the law." For Christ died for us, and was in his body offered up to be a sacrifice, or oblation, to cleanse and purge our sins, that we might thenceforth be united and coupled to him; and that we, being conceived and made with child[6] with the Holy Spirit, may travail, bring forth, and be delivered of an excellent issue and holy fruit of good works: even as, while we served sin, and were subject unto it as to our master, we brought forth an ill-favoured babe of death; I mean, iniquity and wickedness, for the punishing whereof death is appointed and ordained. But let us now hear the very words of the holy and blessed apostle, saying: "Even so, my brethren, we also[7] are dead concerning the law[8] by the body of Christ, that we should be coupled to another[9], who is raised from the dead, that we should bring forth fruit unto God. For when we were in the flesh, the lusts of sin[10], which were by the law, wrought in our members to bring forth fruit unto death. But now are we delivered from the

[6 imprægnati, Lat.] [7 vos quoque, Lat.; ye also.]
[8 legi, Lat.; to the law.] [9 nimirum ei, Lat.; even to him.]
[10 effectus peccatorum, Lat.]

law, and dead unto it, whereunto we were in bondage[1]; that we may serve in newness of spirit, and not in the oldness of the letter."

Rom. viii. That place in the eighth chapter to the Romans is unknown to no man, where he saith: "The law of the spirit of life through Christ Jesus hath made me free from the law of sin and death." The manner of this deliverance he doth immediately after add, saying: "For what the law could not do, that God did by sending his own Son:" and so forth as followeth: for the words are sufficiently plain, and understood of all men[2].

1 Cor. vii. In the seventh chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians he saith: "Ye are bought with a price; do not ye become the servants of men." In these words the holy apostle exhorteth servants under the colour or pretence of worldly[3] bondage not to commit anything for their earthly masters' pleasure, which soundeth against sincerity and is repugnant to pure religion: to wit, although[4] they be called by the name of servants, yet they should not obey the wicked laws and ungodly ordinances of mortal men. The cause that ought to pull and draw us from it is, because we are redeemed and set at liberty by the price of Christ his blood. It would therefore be too too bad and unworthy a thing, if we, contrary to the effect of our liberty, should obey the naughty laws and ordinances of man.

Free from the laws and ordinances of men. This also is extended and stretcheth out to the laws of men which are made in matters of religion. For in the fifteenth chapter of the holy gospel written by the evangelist

Matt. xv. St Matthew the Lord and Saviour saith, "In vain do they worship me, teaching doctrines the precepts of men;" and, "Let them alone: they are blind leaders of the blind." And

[Col. ii. 20—23.] the apostle St Paul saith: "If ye be dead with Christ from the rudiments of the world, why, as yet living in the world, are ye led[5] with traditions, (Touch not; taste not; handle not; which all do perish in abusing[6],) after the commandments

[1 So Cranmer, 1539; and marginal reading of Auth. Ver., being dead to that wherein we were held. Bullinger adopts Erasmus' rendering; mortui ei in quo detinebamur.]

[2 notissima sunt omnibus, Lat.] [3 vel civilis, Lat.; or civil.]

[4 quia, Lat.; because.] [5 tenemini, Lat.; are ye bound.]

[6 quæ sunt omnia in corruptionem ipso abusu, Lat., after Erasmus: whych all peryshe thorow the very abuse, Cranmer, 1539.]

and doctrines of men? Which things have a shew of wisdom in superstition and humbleness of mind, and in neglecting of the body; not in any honour to the satisfying of the flesh." First of all he sheweth, that the faithful ones of Christ Jesu have nothing to do with the decrees of man's inventions, and that they are not bound to observe men's traditions, because they are dead to traditions with Christ; that is to say, they are by Christ Jesu[7] redeemed and set free from traditions; which traditions did in Christ his death finish and come to an end, while he did make us his own, and set us at liberty. Then also he doth by imitation counterfeit the words of them which make those decrees[8], and say, "Oh, touch not, taste not, handle not."

These three precepts stretch very far, and comprehend many petit decrees; all which he doth immediately confute with these probable arguments. First, because they appoint the worship of God to be in things that perish in the use thereof; but the kingdom of God is neither meat nor drink, but doth consist in spiritual things; and that which entereth in by the mouth doth not defile the man. Secondarily, because they are not made of God, the author of all goodness; but have their beginning of man's inventions: "But in vain do they worship me," saith the Lord in the gospel, "teaching doctrines the precepts of men." [Matt. xv. 9.] Neither doth the holy apostle St Paul wink at and slily pass over, because he will not answer to[9], the things which do most commend these traditions. First of all, they are commended for the shew and appearance of wisdom that is in them; for they seem to have been not without great wisdom ordained of wise men, in that they do so fitly serve to every person, time, and place. The earnest defenders of men's traditions cry out, and say: Our ancestors were no fools, their laws are full of wisdom. But Jeremy crieth out on the other side, saying: "They have rejected the word of God; therefore what wisdom can be in them?" [Jer. viii. 9.] Another cause why traditions are commended is the Greeks' ἐθελοθρησκεία; that is to say, a chosen

For what it is that men's traditions are wont to be commended.

[7 per mortem Christi, Lat.]

[8 qualia sint illa decreta commemorat per Mimesim, Lat.: μιμητικῶς subjungit; Bulling. Comment. in loc.]

[9 because—answer to, not in Lat.]

kind of worship[1], which we of our own brains have chosen, and taken ourselves to serve and do God worship withal; for men do gladly and willingly receive the traditions of men, because they are agreeable to their inclination[2]. Yea, Christ in the holy gospel saith; "If ye had been of the world, the world would have loved her own: now for because I have chosen you out of the world, the world doth hate you." And again he saith: "That which men set such store by, is abominable unto God[3]." Moreover men's traditions are commended for humility: which is understood in two manners or respects. For first, that is said to be humility, if any man do readily obey and easily yield to that which is urged, obtruded, and thrust upon him by men of countenance and authority: secondarily, the laws of men do seem to exercise humbleness, and keep men in humility. But such obedience and humility may rather be called sacrilege, because it is not ruled and directed by the word of God, as the thing whereby alone it should be tempered and squared, but doth transfer and convey over the honour of God from God to men. Last of all, men's traditions are commended for the neglecting of the flesh: for, Oh, that discipline and chastisement of the flesh seemeth to them a goodly thing, by which the wantonness of the flesh is somewhat bridled and tamed. Finally the apostle addeth, "Not in any honour to the satisfying of the flesh:" that is to say, Which things, although they have a shew of religion and holiness, have notwithstanding in very deed no honour at all, considering that those external things are ordained of God for the ease and relief of men's necessities. Yea, Paul doth flatly find fault with those decrees, because they give the body no honour for the satisfying of the same, that is, according to the measure of the body's necessity. For a moderate care and looking to the body is not only permitted, but also commanded, lest we perhaps by too much lack and nearness[4] do mar the body, and make it unapt to do good works. Neither is the care of the flesh in any place forbidden[5], unless it tend to lusts and sensuality. Wherefore the apostle saith, "Cherish not the flesh unto concupiscence." Therefore God hath granted to man for his necessity the use of meat, drink,

[John xv. 19.]

The care of the body.

[Rom. xiii. 14.]

[1 Cultus electitius, Lat.] [2 ingenio humano, Lat.]
[3 Luke xvi. 15; coram Deo, Lat.]
[4 inedia, Lat.] [5 simpliciter, Lat. omitted; in itself.]

sleep, clothing, rest, allowable pleasures, and other things necessary[6].

In the fourth chapter to the Galatians St Paul saith: "When the fulness of the time was come, God sent his Son, born of a woman, and made under the law, to redeem them that were under the law, that we might receive by adoption the right (or inheritance)[7] of children. Now because ye are sons, God hath sent the Spirit of his Son into your hearts, crying, Abba, Father. Wherefore thou art no more a servant, but a son: if thou be a son, thou art also an heir of God through Christ." And immediately after again: "Stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath delivered us, and be not again wrapped in the yoke of bondage." Gal. iv.

In the second to the Hebrews he saith: "Christ was made partaker of flesh and blood with us, to the end that through death he might expel[8] him that had lordship over death, that is, the devil; and that he might deliver them which through fear of death were all their life time in danger of[9] bondage." Thus I hope these testimonies of scripture suffice for our purpose. Heb. ii.

The estate, property, or duty of them that are free by Christ.

These things being well weighed and throughly considered will plainly teach, what kind of liberty they have which are made free by Christ, and what their property and inclination is; to wit, most religious, and altogether given to holy things; that is to say, in all points addicted to the Spirit, without which there is no liberty, and by which all the sons of God are always governed. The Lord's freemen do most diligently beware that they do unadvisedly offend no man by their liberty, nor vainly abuse their purchased freedom; for they have continually before their minds and eyes the weighty sayings of the holy apostles of their Lord Christ Jesu. St Peter in the second chapter of his first Epistle saith[10]: "As free, and not having the liberty for a cloak of maliciousness, but even as the servants of God." And Paul

[6 In this exposition Bullinger has borrowed *literally* from Calvin's Comment.; and both from Erasmus' Annotations, in loc. cit.]

[7 ut adoptione jus filiorum acciperemus, Lat. and Erasmus: that we thorow eleccion myght receave the inheritaunce that belongeth unto the naturall sonnes. Cranmer, 1539.]

[8 aboleret, Lat.] [9 See page 307, note 10.]

[10 verse 16, prætextum vel velamen habentes malitiæ, Lat.]

saith: "Brethren, ye have been called unto liberty; only let not liberty be an occasion to the flesh, but by love serve one another. For I, when I am free, have made myself servant to all, that I may win the more[1]."

The abuses of christian liberty.

They therefore do specially[2] abuse christian liberty, who, seeking after carnal things under the colour and pretence of the Spirit and of liberty, do make their brags, that they by the preaching of the gospel are set free from all bodily debts and duties: and therefore they do deny to their masters, creditors, magistrates, and princes, the duty that they owe them; by that means revolting and rebelling against them[3]. These fellows are seditious stirrers, and not the reverencers of the evangelical doctrine. Paul crieth: "Give to every one that which is due: tribute to whom tribute belongeth; custom to whom custom is due; fear to whom fear; and honour to whom honour doth appertain. Owe nothing to any man, but this, that ye love one another."

[Rom. xiii. 7, 8.]

Moreover they also do abuse christian liberty, who, when they have not[4] received the Spirit of liberty and of the sons of God, when they are not as yet delivered from Satan nor justified by Christ, do notwithstanding promise liberty to all men; and think that, for the opinion which they have conceived of their liberty, they may do whatsoever it pleaseth them; by that means gainsaying good laws and severe discipline with exclamations and outcries that liberty by laws is entrapped, betrayed, and trod under foot. Against such, and especially against the teachers of that vain and pernicious liberty, St Peter taketh stomach, and saith: "These are wells without water, clouds that are carried with a tempest; to whom the mist of darkness is reserved for ever. For when they have spoken the great swelling words of vanity, they entice through lusts in the voluptuousness of the flesh[5] such as were clean escaped from them which are

[2 Pet. ii. 17—19.]

[1 Gal. v. 13; 1 Cor. ix. 19; liber sim ab omnibus, Lat.; when I am free from all.]

[2 primum, Lat.; in the first place.]

[3 See Bullinger, adv. Anabapt. Lib. II. cap. 2, and Hooker, Eccles. Pol. Pref. Vol. I. p. 183, Oxf. 1820.]

[4 nondum, Lat.; not as yet.]

[5 inescant homines per concupiscentias carnis voluptatibus, Lat. and Erasmus: they entyse thorow lustes in the volupteousnes of the flessh. Cranmer, 1539.]

wrapped in error, while they promise them liberty; whereas they themselves are the bond-servants of corruption: for of whom a man is overcome, into the same is he brought in bondage:" and so forth as followeth. Now when men do after that manner abuse liberty, that licentious lust is not worthy to be called by the name[6] of liberty. Licentiousness.

Last of all, they do abuse christian liberty, whosoever do abuse things indifferent, and have no regard of their weak brethren, but do offend them unadvisedly. We must therefore in this case always have in mind this notable saying of St Paul: "All things are lawful for me, but all things are not expedient: all things are lawful for me, but all things do not edify." Touching this matter there is more to be seen in the fourteenth chapter of St Paul's Epistle written to the Romans. [1 Cor. vi. 12; x. 23.]

And here by occasion, yea, rather being compelled by necessity, I will speak a little, and so much as shall be requisite for the godly-disposed to know, touching offences. *Scandalum*, which word the Latins borrow of the Greeks, doth signify a falling, a tripping, a stumbling-block, an offence, a let or hinderance: such as are stones in a street that stick up higher than the rest, or gins that are of purpose subtilly set or hid to snare the feet of them that pass over them: for they which do either light on or stumble at them, do fall, or else are turned out of the straight path. Of offences.

Now this kind of snare or stumbling-block is by a metaphor transferred to the estate of religion and manners of men. For he giveth an offence, whosoever doth with overthwart, foolish, or unseasonable words or deeds either do or say to another man anything whereby he taketh an occasion to sin. Therefore *scandalum* is an occasion given to sin and do wickedly, and the very impulsion or driving to a fall or to wickedness. Other there are that do define *scandalum* to be an offence joined with a contempt[7]: for an offence doth usually draw a contempt with it; or, as we may say also, an offence doth rise upon a contempt. To conclude therefore, it is put for an injury offered by one man to another.

[6 sancto vocabulo, Lat.; the sacred name.]

[7 So Zuingle defines it, De vera et falsa religione, Comment. p. 412, Tigur. 1525.]

How and by what means an offence is given.

Now we offend other men either by our words, or else by our deeds. The offence that is given by words is partly in evil, foolish, and unseasonable doctrine, and partly our daily talk or communication. The greatest offence is that which doth arise of wicked doctrine, directly contrary to the true doctrine of the holy gospel. The next to this is that offence which doth arise of foolish and unseasonable doctrine; which, though it be derived out of the word of God, is notwithstanding either unaptly uttered, or unwisely applied. For the preacher may sin either by too much suffering[1] or lenity; or else by too much sharpness and overthwart waywardness[2], so that the hearers being offended do wholly draw back from all hearing of the gospel. And yet, for all this, the light of the gospel must not be hidden, nor the truth slily winked at[3], because men will be offended; but preachers must with all their diligence take heed that the word of God be wisely set forth and aptly dispensed[4]. Whatsoever things are against the laws of God, those must most constantly be accused, and without fear most diligently confuted, howsoever the world and worldlings do storm against the same.

Now they do by their daily talk cause their brethren to stumble, whosoever let their tongues run loose to talk they care not what; and at their pleasure, without advice, to babble they care not how: of which sort are filthy speech and ribaldry, but especially such blasphemous words as are unreverently uttered against God, the holy scriptures, and articles of our faith; for evil words corrupt good manners. I do not here exclude the letters or writings of men which do unadvisedly offend their brethren.

Lastly, stumbling-blocks of offence are laid before many men either by promises or else by threatenings: so often, I mean, as by alluring enticements of many fair promises, or else by terrible threats and torments, they are turned from the right path of truth into byways and errors; for so did Pharao lay a stone of offence before king Zedechias, by causing him to make a league with him, and by that

[2 Kings xxiv. 20; Ezek. xvii. 15—21.]

[1 licentia, Lat.]
[2 nimia mordacitate et morositate, Lat.]
[3 dissimulanda, Lat.]
[4 recte secetur, Lat.; 2 Tim. ii. 15.]

means to trust more in the power of Egypt than in the mighty hand of God[5]. Tyrants do oftentimes give weak Christians causes of offence, while they by torments drive them to deny the name of their master Christ.

Now the deeds, whereby men are offended, be of two sorts; that is to say, they be either lawful and at our free choice, or else unlawful and utterly forbidden us. But even lawful deeds are by abuse made unlawful. For it is lawful for the faithful to eat what they lust: for to the clean all things are clean. But thy eating is made unlawful, if thou dost eat with the offence of thy weak brother: for he doth not understand that it is lawful to eat indifferently every kind of thing; and thou knowest very well that, if thou eatest, he will be offended; and yet notwithstanding thou dost eat and despise him: assure thyself in so doing thou givest cause of offence, and sinnest not a little against thy weak brother. To this we add all unseasonable using of free things and indifferent.

Weaklings and stubborn persons.

But here we must note, that the doctors of the church do diligently distinguish and make a difference betwixt weak brethren and stubborn persons. The weaklings are such as be utterly ignorant in some points of religion; and yet notwithstanding are tractable enough, and fear the Lord; not erring of purpose with malicious overthwartness, but touched with a certain weakness of faith and religion, suffering themselves nevertheless willingly to be instructed. Of such the apostle saith: "Him that is weak in faith receive ye, not to strifes of disputations." [Rom. xiv. 1.] But the stubborn and obstinate people are they which, when they know the truth and liberty of the saints, do notwithstanding harden their minds, and set themselves against the truth of liberty[6] which they know; desiring to have much granted them, and every man to bear with them, not so much for that they do ever mean to give place to the truth, as to the end that by this occasion once granted them they may at last subvert the truth and christian liberty, and in stead thereof set up their trifles and superstitious vanities. Of such men the Lord speaketh in the gospel, saying: "Let them alone; they be blind leaders of the blind." [Matt. xv. 14.] And Paul in the second chapter to the Ga- Gal. ii.

[5 potentiæ et liberationi divinæ, Lat.]

[6 veritati et libertati, Lat.; the truth and liberty, ed. 1577.]

latians saith: "Titus, being a Greek, was not circumcised, because of incomers, being false brethren, which came in privily to spy out our liberty which we have in Christ Jesus, that they might bring us into bondage. To whom not so much as for an hour we gave any place by subjection; that the truth of the gospel might continue with you."

An offence given and an offence taken.

Moreover to this place is to be referred the difference that some men do very wisely make betwixt the giving and the taking of an offence.

An offence is given then, when by thy fault, by thy importunity, I say, and thy lightness, thou either doest or sayest a thing for which thy brother hath a cause to be offended[1]. The other kind of offence is not given, but taken or picked out, not by thy fault, but by the malice or wickedness of another man: as for example, when thou dost sin neither in word nor deed, when thy deeds are nothing insolent, nor thy words unseasonable, when thou either sayest or doest the thing that is both free and lawful for thee to say and do; and yet another taketh pepper in nose[2] and is offended with that liberty of thine: which is all one, as if a man that walketh in a plain path[3] should hap to trip or stumble, and presently quarrel with his companion[4], as though he had laid a block in his way.

Now the unlawful and forbidden deeds wherewith men are offended do tend against God and his laws, are done contrary to all seemliness, equity, right, and reason, and stir up others to imitate the like revels and desire of ill rule[5]: for such are idolatry, murder, whoredom, covetousness, pride, and luxury. So did the wicked king Jeroboam set up the golden calves to be a stumbling-block unto all the people of Israel. And in like manner do many, with their drunken tippling and overnice bravery in gaudy apparel, not only offend others, but also make them worse, and by their ill example draw them into like and more foolish vanities.

[1 merito, Lat.]

[2 This proverbial term for an angry person (see Ray's Proverbs, pp. 140, 197. Lond. 1817) is added by the Translator.]

[3 in quo nulla posita est offensio, Lat. omitted; where no stumbling-block has been laid.]

[4 The mention of a *companion* is an addition of the Translator's.]

[5 ad paria studia et scelera, Lat.]

Finally, to give an offence is a very great sin; as the saying[6] of the Lord in the gospel affirmeth. For in Matthew he saith: "Woe unto the world because of offences. It must needs be that offences come; but woe to the man by whom the offence cometh! Whosoever offendeth one of these little ones that believe in me, it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and that he were drowned in the depth of the sea." And Paul the apostle, speaking to the brethren that give offence, doth say: "Through thy giving of offence perisheth thy brother for whom Christ died." And again: "And so ye sinning against your brethren, and wounding their weak consciences, do sin against Christ himself." But what can be devised more heinous than to sin against Christ? Let us all therefore take heed, that by abusing christian liberty we give no occasion of offence to the weak, but always do the things that do belong to charity.

To give offence is a great sin.

[Matt. xviii. 6, 7.]

[1 Cor. viii. 11, 12.]

Last of all, we must especially confirm our minds against the enemies of the gospel, who cease not daily to lay innumerable heaps of offences upon the preachers and zealous followers of the evangelical doctrine. "Ye," say they, "are the causes of all the broils, seditions, wars, and hurly-burlies, wherewith the world is at this day disquieted." Against these offensive outcries, I say, we must confirm our minds with that notable saying of Christ in the gospel: "I came not to send peace, but a sword. For I am come to set a man at variance with his father, and the daughter against her mother, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law: and a man's foes shall be they of his own household." Here we must call to remembrance, and lay before our eyes, the notable examples of the prophets and apostles. King Achab said to Helias the prophet, that he was the disturber and plague of the kingdom; but the prophet replieth, that not he, but the king, was the troubler of the country. The rebellious Jews objected against Jeremy, that, since the time they began to leave the worship of their (idol) gods, and to hearken to the preaching of the word of God, they never had one jot of felicity, but that mishaps by troops fell one upon another's neck. To which objection they were answered, that those misfortunes did light upon them because of their sins, and especially for their rebellion and unthankfulness' sake. The

Offences rise not of the gospel, but of the enemies of the gospel.

[Matt. x. 34—36.]

[1 Kings xviii. 17, 18.]

[Jer. xliv. 15—23.]

[6 unica sententia, Lat.]

unbelieving Jews at Thessalonica cried out against Paul and Silas, saying: "These fellows, that have troubled the whole world, are come hither also." But Paul, speaking against the Jews his enemies and persecutors, said: "They, as they have killed the Lord Jesus and their own prophets, so do they persecute us: they please not God, and are adversaries to all men; resisting us that we should not preach the gospel unto the Gentiles to their salvation, that they may still fulfil their sins; and so at last the endless[1] anger of God may fall upon them." These sayings and such like let the faithful think upon and have in their minds, and let them persevere still with constancy and patience to spread abroad the doctrine of the gospel, howsoever the world doth fret and cast offences in the way. And thus much hitherto touching offences[2].

[Acts xvii. 6.]

[1 Thess. ii. 15, 16.]

Of good works.

It remaineth now, as my promise in the beginning was, to say somewhat in the end of this sermon concerning good works. For we have learned that christian liberty is not licentiousness, but an adoption into the number of the sons of God, which do bestow all their life upon the study of godliness and virtues: we have learned that the law of God is the rule and doctrine of good works: the course of order, therefore, doth now require to have somewhat said touching good works.

What works do signify in the scripture.

First of all, let us determine of the very true and certain signification of works, because the word is used diversly, and is of ample signification. For works are the labours and busy exercises of men, by the which they get their livings: for Paul commandeth every man to work with his own hands; the law forbiddeth us to do any work on the sabbath-day; and the Israelites were oppressed in Egypt with hard and wearisome work and toil. There are also workmen, to whom the Lord in the gospel commandeth to pay the hire that is their due. A work also is the thing which is made or expressed by the artificer or workman; for the prophet Jeremy, speaking of a potter, saith: "He made a work upon a wheel." Moreover a work doth signify an office or duty; for Paul saith, "Do the work"

[Jer. xviii. 3.]

[2 Tim. iv. 5.]

[1 in finem, Lat.]

[2 This treatise of "offences" is transferred by Bullinger from his Comment. in Matt. cap. xviii. Lib. VIII. fol. 172, Tiguri. 1542. Cf. Calvin. Instit. Lib. III. cap. 19, § 11, 12.]

(meaning the office) "of an evangelist:" and the Holy Ghost, speaking in the church at Antioch, saith, "Separate me Paul and Barnabas for the work whereunto I have chosen them." [Acts xiii. 2.] Furthermore, the works of the Lord are[3] the mighty deeds of God, whereby he doth declare his power and goodness unto men: and in that signification heaven, earth, and man himself, are said to be the works of God's hands. Works also are the benefits of God bestowed upon us men; for in the gospel he saith: "I have shewed you many good works:" (as if he should have said, I have done you many good turns[4].) [John x. 32.] There are also evil works, I mean works of iniquity: whereupon some men are called workers of iniquity, whose deeds are[5] the works of the flesh and of darkness. [Job xxxiv. 22. Psal. v. 5, &c.] Again, there are good works, I mean sundry virtues, the fruits of faith; of which sort are justice, temperance, charity, patience, hope, &c. For the Lord in the gospel said: "Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify the Father which is in heaven." [Matt. v. 16.] The apostle saith that we are made for good works, to walk in them. [Eph. ii. 10.] Those same are called the fruits of repentance, and works worthy of repentance. They are called the works of light[6], and the fruits of the Spirit. [Matt. iii. 8. Acts xxvi. 20.] [Gal. v. 22.] The same are the works of humanity, benevolence, and charity: such are commended in Tabitha, which is read to have been full of good works. [Acts ix. 36.] Paul saith: "Let us work good, while we have time, to all; but especially to them of the household of faith." [Gal. vi. 10.] Such a like work of humanity and charity did Mary bestow upon Christ our Saviour, who said: "She hath wrought a good work on me." [Matt. xxvi. 10.] This being thus declared, we will now describe good works in their colours and qualities.

Good works, what they are.

Good works are deeds, or actions, wrought of those which are regenerate by the Spirit[7] of God, through faith, and according to the word of God, to the glory of God, the

[3] vocantur, Lat.; are called.]

[4] This parenthesis is the Translator's.]

[5] illis respondent, Lat.]

[6] The express phrase, *works of light*, does not occur in Scripture; but Bullinger seems to refer to Rom. xiii. 12; for, in his exposition of that passage, he says: Hic palam audimus—quæ (sint) opera tenebrarum, quæ lucis, p. 106, Tigur. 1537.]

[7] spiritu bono, Lat.; by the good Spirit.]

honesty[1] of life, and the profit of our neighbour. This brief description I will prosecute by parts, and expound so well as the Lord shall give me grace.

The original cause of good works.

First, I will by proof shew that there is none other well-spring, from whence good works do flow, than God himself, which is the author of all good things. For the prophet saith: "All men are liars; God alone doth speak the truth[2]." [Matt. xix. 17.] And the Lord in the gospel saith: "None is good but God alone." Good works therefore must have their beginning, not of man, who is a liar and corrupt, but of God himself, the well-spring of all goodness. And God doth by his Spirit and by faith in Christ Jesus renew all men, so that they, being once regenerate, do no longer their own, that is, the works of the flesh, but the works of the Spirit, of grace, and[3] of God himself. For the works of them that are regenerate do grow up by the good Spirit of God that is within them; which Spirit, even as the sap giveth strength to trees to bring forth fruit, doth in like manner cause sundry virtues to bud and branch out of us men, as the Lord himself [John xv. 4, 5.] doth in the gospel testify, and say: "I am the vine, ye are the branches. As the branch cannot bear fruit of itself, unless it abide in the vine; so cannot ye also, unless ye abide in me. Whosoever abideth in me, and I in him, he bringeth forth much fruit: for without me ye can do nothing." To the same cause is that to be referred, where as[4] we say that a good work is done by faith. For faith is the gift of God, whereby we lay hold on Christ, through which we are both justified and quickened; as the scripture saith, [Hab. ii. 4.] "The just shall live by his faith." And in another place saith Paul: "By faith Christ dwelleth in our hearts[5]." And [Gal. ii. 20.] again: "I live; yet now not I, but Christ liveth in me: and the life which now I live in the flesh, I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me, and gave himself for me." Now he that liveth doth the works of life through him, no doubt, by whom he is quickened; and he that is justified doth the works of righteousness through him that justified

[1 ornamentum et honestatem, Lat.]

[2 Ps. cxvi. 11; Rom. iii. 4: where the Vulgate has, *est* Deus verax; Erasmus renders, *sit*.]

[3 adeoque, Lat.; and so.] [4 cum dicimus, Lat.]

[5 Eph. iii. 17; in cordibus vestris, Lat.]

him: that is, the righteous do through Christ work righteousness, and righteousness containeth the whole company of virtues. So then God alone remaineth still the only well-spring and author of good works.

But let us now see the testimonies of scripture, by which we may evidently learn, that the works of them that be regenerate are attributed to God himself, who by his Spirit and by faith doth work in the hearts of the regenerate. Moses testifieth, saying: "The Lord shall bless thee, and the Lord thy God shall circumcise thy heart, and the heart of thy seed, that thou mayest love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, that thou mayest live." [Deut. xxx. 5, 6.] Lo, here the cause that godly men do rightly love the Lord doth proceed of the circumcision of the heart. Now who, I pray you, doth circumcise the heart beside the Lord? The prophet Esay doth more plainly say: "Thou, Lord, shalt ordain peace: for even thou hast wrought all our works in us." [Isai. xxvi. 12.] In the gospel after St John our Saviour saith: "He that worketh verity cometh to the light, that his works may be seen, because they are wrought by God." [John iii. 21; xv. 5.] And again: "Whosoever abideth in me, and I in him, he bringeth forth much fruit; for without me ye can do nothing." Paul also to the Philippians saith: "To you it is given for Christ, not only to believe in him, but also to suffer for him." [Phil. i. 29.] And yet again more plainly: "It is God that worketh in you both to will and to do according to the good purpose of the mind[6]." Likewise also St James saith: "Every good giving and every perfect gift is from above, and cometh from the Father of lights." [James i. 17.] Moreover St Peter, ascribing all the parts of good works to God, doth say: "The God of all grace, who hath called you to his eternal glory through Christ Jesus, restore, uphold, strengthen, and stablish you." [1 Pet. v. 10.] For "we are not able," as Paul in another place saith, "of ourselves to think any thing as of ourselves; but all our ability is of God." [2 Cor. iii. 5.] Therefore God alone remaineth still the only well-spring of all good works, from whom, as from

[6 Phil. ii. 13; pro bono animi proposito, Lat. and Erasmus. Sensus est, Deus operatur in nobis velle et perficere, idque facit quod propenso in nos animo sit, quod nos amat, et familiariter admodum complectitur. Bullinger, Comment. in loc.]

a spring-head, good works[1] do flow into the saints, as into sundry streams and channels[2].

Good works are imputed to men.

Yet here by the way this must be added, that good works, although they do in deed proceed from God, and are in very true and proper phrase of speech the fruits of the Spirit and of faith, both are notwithstanding, and are also said to be, ours; that is to say, the works of faithful men: partly because God worketh them by us, and useth our ministery in the doing of the same; and partly because we are by faith the sons of God, and are therefore made the brethren and joint-heirs with Jesus Christ. For by this right of inheritance all the works of God, which are in us God's gifts, do begin to be not another's, but our own and proper works. Yea, the very scripture doth attribute them to us, as unto sons and freeborn children; for the Lord in the gospel [John viii. 35.] saith: "The servant abideth not in the house for ever; the son abideth for ever." Therefore, as all things in the father's house do, by right of inheritance and title of propriety, come to the son, although the son hath not gotten them by his own industry, nor gathered them by his own labour, but hath received them by the liberality of his parents; even so the works of God, which he doth work in us and by us, which are God's gifts bestowed upon us, both are, and are said to be, our own, because we are the sons of the household, as it were, by adoption, and therefore are the lawful heirs. Wherefore it were the sign of a very unthankful mind for an adopted son, being forgetful of his father's beneficence and liberality, to make his brags, that all those goods, which he enjoyeth by right of inheritance, were gotten and come by through his own labour and tra- [1 Cor. iv. 7.] vail. Whereupon Paul said very religiously: "What hast thou that thou hast not received? If thou hast then received it, why dost thou yet boast as though thou receivedst it not?" Very well thought the holy martyr of Christ, St Cyprian, who was wont to say: "We should boast of nothing, because we have nothing of our own[3]." And to this

[1 opera vere bona, Lat.]

[2 as—channels, is the Translator's addition.]

[3 In nullo gloriandum, quando nostrum nihil sit.—Cypr. Testim. III. ad Quirinum 4. Op. Par. 1633, p. 373.]

place belongeth[4] that saying of the prophet Esay: "Shall the axe boast against him that heweth with it; or shall the saw brag against him that draweth it[5]?" We, verily, are the instruments or tools of God, by which he worketh; for the apostle saith: "We are joint-workers with God; ye are God's husbandry, ye are God's building. According to the grace which God hath given me." Therefore, according to the meaning of the apostle's writing, St Augustine, *Lib. de Gratia et libero arb.*, in the sixth chapter, doth say: "When grace is given, then do our merits begin to be good, and that through grace. For if grace be taken away, then man doth fall, not being set up, but cast down headlong, by free-will. Wherefore, when man beginneth to have good works, he must not attribute them to himself, but unto God, to whom it is said in the Psalm, Be thou my helper: O forsake me not. In saying, Forsake me not, he sheweth, that if he be forsaken, he is able to do no good of himself[6]." So then in these words St Augustine doth plainly enough declare, that good works are ours after that sort, that yet notwithstanding they cease not to be the works of God; yea, that they ought nevertheless to be ascribed to the grace of God that worketh in us[7]. [1 Cor. iii. 9, 10.]

No works do justify. 1

Now by this which we have hitherto alleged out of the scriptures touching the true original cause of good works, we may easily understand how and after what manner the scripture doth attribute righteousness unto our merits. For I have in another place[8] sufficiently declared (and will again say somewhat, when I come to the treatise of the gospel) that faith, not works, doth justify us in the sight of God: which is the especial point and chief foundation of the evangelical and apostolical doctrine.

[4 pertinere videtur, Lat.]

[5 Is. x. 15; qui ipsam agitat, Lat. and Calvin.]

[6 Sed plane cum data fuerit (gratia), incipiunt esse etiam merita nostra bona, per illam tamen. Nam si illam subtraxerit, cadit homo, non erectus, sed præcipitatus libero arbitrio. Quapropter quando cœperit homo habere merita bona, non debet sibi tribuere illa, sed Deo, cui dicitur in Psalmo, Adjutor meus esto, ne derelinquas me. Dicendo, ne derelinquas me, ostendit quia si derelictus fuerit, nihil boni valet ipse per se.—Aug. Opp. Par. 1531, Tom. VII. fol. 268, col. 1.]

[7 Cf. Calvin. Instit. Lib. II. cap. 5, § 14.]

[8 Decad. I. Serm. 6, Vol. I. p. 104.]

All our works generally are either the works of nature or the flesh, or else the works of the law, or else the works of faith or grace. Now the works of nature or the flesh
2 do not justify, but condemn us; because "that which is born
[Rom. viii. 6, 7.] of flesh is flesh." But "the lust of the flesh is death, and enmity against God." What the apostle thought and said touching the works of the law, I did declare[1] to you in my
[Rom. iii. 20.] former sermon: "By the works of the law," saith he, "shall no flesh be justified." But if we beat out and examine the works of grace and of faith, we shall find that they both are, and have been, done by faithful and just men.

Whereupon it is manifest, that justification did always go before the works of righteousness: for the just man doth work righteousness; so that righteousness is the fruit that the just do bring forth. Man, verily, is justified freely by grace, and not by works, which follow after justification. What may be said to that, where the scripture saith[2], that even Abraham, the father of all that believe, was not justified by the works of grace and of faith? He lived 430 years before[3] the law; he believed in God, and by true faith did most excellent works: and yet by those his works of faith he was not justified. For Paul doth plainly argue thus:
[Rom. iv. 2—5.] "If Abraham were justified by works, then hath he wherein to boast; but not before God. For what saith the scripture? Abraham believed God, and it was counted unto him for righteousness. To him[4] that worketh is the reward not reckoned of grace, but of duty[5]: but to him that worketh not, but believeth on him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted for righteousness." Now whereas we conclude, that we also shall be justified according to the example of Abraham by faith, and not by works, we ground that conclusion, not upon our own minds, but upon the apostle's
[Rom. iv. 23.] doctrine, who saith: "Nevertheless it was not written for him[6] only, that faith was imputed to him for righteousness;

[1 copiose exposui, Lat.]

[2 aperte testatur, Lat.]

[3 Gal. iii. 17. Hoc loco Apostolus 430 annos a promissione facta Abrahæ ad legem usque numerat. Bullinger, Comment. in loc.]

[4 Ei vero, Lat.; now to him.]

[5 See Tyndale's Doctrinal Treatises, Park. Soc. ed. p. 103.]

[6 propter Abraham, Lat.]

but it was written for us also, to whom it shall be reckoned, if we believe in Christ." Touching this matter I have already disputed in the sixth sermon of the first Decade. I verily am persuaded that this doctrine of the apostles and evangelists ought to bo laid up in the bottom of every faithful heart: that we are justified by the grace of God, not by merits[7]; through faith[8], and not through works.

Good works are not rejected, but their abuse is by this doctrine condemned.

But while we urge and repeat this doctrine unto the people, we are said of many to be the patrons of all naughtiness, and utter enemies to all good works and virtues. But we, by this our preaching and doctrine of faith which doth only justify, do not contemn good works, nor think them to be superfluous. We do not say that they are not good; but do cry out upon the abuse of good works, and the corrupt doctrine of good works, which is defiled with the leaven of the Pharisees. For we teach to do good works, but we will not have them to be set to sale, and to be bought I cannot tell in what order of bargaining. We will not have any man to put confidence in them; we will not have any man to boast of the gifts of God; we will not have the power to justify, or to merit life everlasting, to be simply attributed unto them. For by that means Christ should wax vile and contemptible[9], who hath with his death alone merited for us the heavenly kingdom of God Almighty. Neither do we by this, as many think we do, separate good works from faith. Our doctrine is, that works and faith are not severed, but cleave together as closely as may be: so yet notwithstanding, that justification is properly ascribed to faith, and not to works. For works do consist in our worthiness, but faith doth cleave to the promise of God, which setteth before us both righteousness and life in the only-begotten Son of God, Christ Jesus our Saviour. And Christ is sufficiently able of himself, and by his own power and virtue, to justify them that believe in his name, without any aid or help of ours at all.

In what sense the scripture doth attribute justification unto good works.

I will not wink at some men's objection, but freely confess, that the scriptures here and there do after a sort attribute both life and justification unto good works. But the scripture is not contrary to itself: therefore we must search

[7 non meritis nostris, Lat.]
[8 per fidem in Christum, Lat.]
[9 et oppugnaretur, Lat.; and be fought against.]

and examine, in what sense, and how, life and justification are ascribed to our works. St Augustine doth so answer this objection, that he referreth our works[1] unto the grace of God; for in his book *De gratia et libero arbitrio*, the eighth chapter, he writeth: "If eternal life be of duty given to good works, as the scripture doth most plainly testify, saying, 'Because God will reward every man according to his works;' then how is eternal life of grace, considering that grace is not given as due to works, but freely and without deserts? as the apostle Paul doth say, 'To him that worketh the reward is not reckoned of grace, but of duty;' and again, 'The remnant,' saith he, 'are saved by the election of grace:' and immediately after he addeth, 'If it be of grace, then it is not now of works; for then grace is no more grace.' How then is eternal life, which is gotten by works, a gift? Or else did not the apostle say, that everlasting life is a gift? Yes, verily; he said it so plainly that we cannot deny it. Neither are his words so obscure that they require a sharp understander, but an attentive hearer. For when he had said, 'The reward of sin is death;' he addeth straightways: 'But the gift of God is life everlasting in Jesu Christ our Lord.' Methinketh therefore, that this question can be none otherwise resolved, unless we understand, that even our good works, to which eternal life is given, must be referred to the grace and gift of God; because the Lord Jesus saith, 'Without me ye can do nothing:' and the apostle, when he had said, 'Ye are saved by grace through faith,' doth presently add, 'and that not of yourselves; it is the gift of God: not of works, lest any man should boast[2].'" Thus much hitherto out of St Augustine.

[1 bona opera, Lat.]

[2 Si enim vita æterna bonis operibus redditur, sicut apertissime dicit scriptura, Quoniam Deus reddet unicuique secundum opera ejus; quomodo gratia est vita æterna, cum gratia non operibus reddatur, sed gratis detur? ipso apostolo dicente, Ei qui operatur merces non imputatur secundum gratiam, sed secundum meritum; et iterum, Reliquiæ, inquit, per electionem gratiæ salvæ factæ sunt; et mox addidit, Si autem gratia, jam non ex operibus, alioquin gratia jam non est gratia. Quomodo est ergo gratia vita æterna, quæ ex operibus sumitur? An forte vitam æternam non dixit apostolus gratiam? Imo vero sic dixit, ut negari omnino non possit; nec intellectorem acutum, sed tantummodo intentum desiderat auditorem. Cum enim dixisset, Stipendium peccati mors; continuo subdidit, Gratia autem Dei vita

Now although this answer of St Augustine be godly and plain enough to him that simply searcheth for the truth, yet I am sure that some there are which never will be answered with it. They will, I know, go about upon St Augustine's words to infer that works, and not faith alone, do justify us men. For thus they argue: We are justified, and do obtain eternal life, by grace: good works do belong to the grace of God: therefore good works do justify us.

The cavils of them which attribute justification unto works.

Now it is not amiss to close and buckle hand to hand with these disputers, that in this little ye may perceive that they be mere shifts of sophistry, which they set to sale under the name and colour of very sound arguments. And first of all, there is no man so foolish, if he hath read the doctrine of St Paul, but knoweth very well that those two propositions cannot hang together: we are justified by grace; and, we are justified by works. For that sentence of St Paul is as clear as the sun, where he saith, "If of grace, then now not of works: for then grace were no grace." We do freely grant both their propositions; to wit, that we are justified by grace, and that works belong to the grace of God, or be the gift of God: but we deny their consequence, and say that it is false; to wit, that works do justify. For if that be true, then may we in like manner truly say, A man doth see; an hand doth belong unto a man: and thereupon infer, therefore a hand doth see. But who would gather so vain a consequent? For all do understand, that a man doth consist of sundry members, and that every member hath his effects[3] and offices. Again, what is he which knoweth not, that the grace of God, which is otherwise undivided, is divided and distinguished according to the diverse operations which it worketh? For there is in God a certain (as it were) general grace, whereby he created all mortal men, and by which he sendeth rain upon the just and unjust: but this grace doth not

[Rom. xi. 6.]

æterna in Christo Jesu Domino nostro. Ista ergo quæstio nullo modo mihi videtur posse dissolvi, nisi intelligamus et ipsa bona opera nostra, quibus æterna redditur vita, ad Dei gratiam pertinere, propter illud quod ait Dominus Jesus, Sine me nihil potestis facere. Et ipse apostolus cum dixisset, Gratia salvi facti estis per fidem; et hoc non ex vobis, sed Dei donum est, non ex operibus ne forte quis extollatur; vidit utique, &c.—Aug. Opp. Par. 1531, Tom. VII. fol. 268, col. 3.]

[3 suas vires, Lat.]

justify; for if it did, then should the wicked and unjust[1] be justified. Again, there is that singular grace, whereby he doth, for his only-begotten Christ his sake, adopt us to be his sons: he doth not, I mean, adopt all, but the believers only, whose sins he reckoneth not, but doth impute to them the righteousness of his only-begotten Son our Saviour. This is that grace which doth alone justify us in very deed. Moreover there is a grace, which, being poured into our minds, doth bring forth good works in them that are justified. This grace doth not justify, but doth engender the fruits of righteousness in them that are justified. Therefore we confess and grant, that good works belong to grace, but after a certain manner, order, and fashion[2].

Again, they object and say: But grace or faith and works, justification also and sanctification, are so joined together, that they cannot be severed one from another: therefore the thing that agreeth to one is also appliable unto the other.

I verily neither dare nor do in any case gainsay, that faith and works do cleave together; but I do utterly deny that they twain are all one, so that the thing which is attributed to the one may also be applied unto the other. For faith, although it be weak and unperfect in us, doth notwithstanding lean and stay upon Christ his perfection alone, and so far forth it doth justify us. But our works have in them (for I use the mildest phrase of speech) some sprinkling of vice and sparkle of error, because of the original disease that is natural in us all: but it followeth not therefore, that the grace of God is polluted by any vice or fault of ours; which should of necessity follow consequently, if, by reason of the strait knot betwixt them, the properties of the one were common to the other. Although the light of the sun be not separate from the heat thereof, yet is not the light the same that the heat is. Neither is it a good consequence to say, The sun giveth light to the world; therefore the heat of the sun giveth light to the world, because in the sun the heat and light cannot be separated. Yea rather, the sun in respect of his light doth lighten the world, not in respect of the heat that it hath. And yet the sun doth both warm and

[1] omnes impii, Lat.]

[2] sed sua ratione, suo modo, Lat.]

lighten the earth at once. In like manner we are freely justified by the merciful grace of God, for Christ his sake, our Lord and Saviour, not in respect and consideration of the works of grace, that are found in us; although these works are engendered and brought forth by that free grace. And so we must attribute all glory wholly to the grace of God, and not part stakes with him, and take to our own share any part of his glory.

These wranglers have yet another shift, and say: Although we say that eternal life is given by God to all faithful believers, not for faith only in Christ Jesus, but also for the works of faith; all the glory nevertheless shall redound to God; namely since we acknowledge and confess that those works are wrought in us by the power and grace of God.

To this our answer is; that glory must so be given to God as he doth please to have it given him. If the will, purpose, and counsel of God were to receive us into his friendship for the works' sake, which his Spirit and grace doth bring forth in us; then should he unadvisedly, without discretion, have sent his only-begotten Son into the world, and rashly have appointed him to the terrible pangs of bitter death. But God, in all that he hath created either in heaven or earth, much less in this case, which is the greatest that belongeth to man, the chief and most excellent creature that he hath made[3], did never at any time do any thing rashly, without great advisement. Wherefore it is assuredly certain, that it was never the counsel and purpose of God for our own good works[4] and virtues to redeem us from the tyranny of Satan, and to accept us for his sons; but for the only sacrifice and satisfaction of his only-begotten Son Christ Jesus, our Lord and Saviour. For the judgment of Paul in this matter remaineth firm and invincible, where he saith: "If righteousness come of the works of the law, then did Christ die in vain." [Gal. ii. 21.] And that divine saying of St Peter remaineth for ever uncontrollable: "There is salvation in none other." [Acts iv. 12.]

Again, they do lay certain places of scripture together, and thereupon do argue thus: Although Paul in one place doth say, "Ye are saved by grace through faith;" yet in another place the same Paul doth say, "We are saved by [Eph. ii. 8; Rom. viii. 24.]

[3 that belongeth—hath made, not in Lat.]

[4 opera fidei, Lat.; the works of faith.]

hope." Now who knoweth not that hope is, as it were, upheld and strengthened by patience?—Christ himself in the gospel agreeing thereunto, and saying, "In your patience ye shall possess your souls." Therefore not faith only, but hope and patience do bring us to salvation.

[Luke xxi. 19.]

To this we answer thus; That the holy apostle doth sufficiently expound himself, if a man will take the pains to read him throughout, and weigh with himself the end and cause for which he spake every several sentence. "Ye are," saith he, "saved by grace through faith; and that not of yourselves, it is the gift of God; not of works, lest any man should boast," &c. Hath he not in these few words most evidently declared what his belief is touching grace or faith, and works? Who would desire a plainer speech? There is none so very a dorhead[1] as that he understandeth not, that the benefit[2] of salvation is wholly and merely ascribed to grace. For he doth not divide salvation or justification partly to faith or grace, and partly to works; neither doth he attribute the first place to faith, and the second place to works: he doth utterly exclude all boasting. "Ye are," saith he, "saved by grace through faith." And immediately after he addeth, "and that not of yourselves." He annexeth the cause: "it is the gift of God." And again: "not of works." He sheweth why: "Lest any man should boast." He that understandeth not this doth undoubtedly understand nothing at all. He that wresteth or otherwise cavilleth at this doth speak against the sun, and saith that the light is darkness. Now whereas the same apostle doth in another place say, "We are saved by hope;" it is by the marking of the whole place to be gathered, that his meaning is as if he had said: "I told you, that they which believe in Christ are the sons and heirs of God, and have thereby their salvation and felicity; but I would have every one to understand it in hope and expectation, not in enjoying the very thing itself, and present fruition." Now who can hereupon infer, Therefore hope doth justify? But we do rather make this argument: Patience is no patience at all, unless the patient man be first justified by true faith: therefore the commendation of patience[3]

Loqui contra solem: a proverb applied to them that speak against the truth.

[1 bardus, Lat. Dor: a drone.]
[2 totum beneficium, Lat.]
[3 patientiæ laus et virtus, Lat.]

doth wholly depend upon faith, and not the praise of faith upon patience; although faith be declared and shewed forth by patience.

For it is a sentence utterly unworthy to come out of a christian man's mouth, to say, that faith is made perfect by good works; that is to say, where faith doth want a piece, that there good works do patch it up. For when we name faith, we do not name simply the quality of believing which is in our minds, but we have an eye to Christ himself[4], our Lord and Saviour, together with his righteousness and heavenly gifts; upon whom alone, as upon a base and sure foundation, our faith doth rest and firmly stand. But to go about to supply the want of any thing in Christ Jesus, is nothing else but with devilish blasphemy to disgrace the Son of God. The faith of saints, I confess, doth declare and shew itself by works; but it followeth not thereupon, that works do therefore make perfect that which seemeth to be wanting in Christ his perfection. For there is nothing lacking in our deliverance, redemption, and justification wrought by Christ. The apostle James did say indeed, "Seest thou how faith was made perfect by works?" But his meaning was none other but to say, Seest thou how faith, by the works which followed it, did declare itself to be a true and righteous faith, and not an hypocritical faith? For before these words he said: "Seest thou how his faith was effectual through works?" Again, the apostle Paul said: "I fulfil[5] that which is lacking to the afflictions of Christ in my flesh for his body's sake, which is the church." But you may better translate the Greek τὰ ὑστερήματα to be that rather which is behind, than that which is lacking to[6] the afflictions of Christ: for the Greeks call τὰ ὑστερήματα not only those things that are wanting, but also the remnant (which word St Ambrose also used)[7], I mean the remnant [James i. 22.]

[4 See Vol. I. addend. p. 112, line 32.]

[5 Col. i. 24. Suppleo vel adimpleo, Lat. The former is the rendering of Erasmus, the latter of the Vulgate.]

[6 quæ supersunt, quam quæ desunt, Lat.]

[7 —qui nunc gaudeo in passionibus pro vobis, et suppleo relliquias pressurarum Christi, &c. Ambros. Comment. in Ep. ad Coloss. cap. 1, v. 24, Tom. II. Append. pag. 266, Par. 1690. But these commentaries are not genuine. See James' Corruption of Scripture, Councils, and Fathers, ed. Cox, Lond. 1843, p. 26.]

and those things that are remaining behind. And St Peter saith, that "Christ suffered for us, leaving behind him an example for us, that we might follow his trace and footsteps." Therefore the apostle affirmeth, that he by suffering fulfilled the remnant which was behind[1].

[1 Pet. ii. 21.]

Another objection. [1 Cor. xiii. 2.]

After this again they allege the words of the apostle Paul, where he saith: "If I have all faith, so that I can remove mountains out of their place, and yet have not charity, I am nothing." For upon this they infer, "Therefore not faith only, but also charity, yea, rather charity than faith, doth justify."

But we say that Paul in this sentence doth neither deny that faith alone doth justify, nor yet doth attribute the justification of the saints to charity. For when we affirm that we are justified by faith, or when we make faith the cause of justification, (which thing must be by often repetition beaten into our memories,) we do not understand that faith, as it is a virtue in us, doth work, and by the quality[2] that sticketh to us doth merit, righteousness in the sight of God; but so often as we make mention of faith, we understand the grace of God exhibited in Christ, which is through faith freely applied to us, and received[3] as the free gift of God bestowed upon us. And in that sense doth Paul[4] use the name of faith, when he affirmeth that faith doth justify. But in this place of the thirteenth chapter to the Corinthians he doth not so take the name of faith, but putteth it for the power of working miracles; as is manifest by that which followeth, where he saith, "so that I can remove mountains." That faith doth not comprehend Christ wholly, but only the power in shewing of miracles: and therefore it may be sometime in an unjust man and an hypocrite; as it was in Judas Iscariot, to whom the faith of miracles profited nothing, because he was without the justifying faith; which faith is never without, but of itself engendereth, charity.

Again, whereas they object that saying out of the gospel of St John, "Whosoever knoweth[5] my commandments and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me; and my Father will

John [xiv. 21, 23.]

[1 hasce relliquias, Lat.]
[2 qualitate sua, Lat.; its quality.]
[3 apprehenditur recipiturque, Lat.]
[4 et Paulus, Lat.; doth Paul also.] [5 habet, Lat.]

love him, and we will come to him, and make our abiding in him;" therefore for the observation of the commandments, that is, for our works' sake, God is joined to us: we again allege this saying of the same evangelist and apostle John: "By this we know that we abide in him, and he in us, because he hath given us of his Spirit." But that Spirit of God is a free gift: therefore we are joined to God by mere and free grace. [1 John iv. 13.]

It followeth in John: "And we have seen and do testify, that the Father hath sent the Son to be the Saviour of the world." Thou hearest, I hope, by what it is that the world is saved, and what Christ the Saviour of the world is[6]. Now who knoweth not that he was sent unto us of the Father by the mere and only grace of God? It followeth now, how that grace is received: "Whosoever confesseth that Jesus is the Son of God, God abideth in him, and he in God." But in the sixth of John, instead of 'confesseth,' is put 'believeth:' and no marvel, since out of a true faith a true confession doth arise. By faith therefore are we saved[7], and by faith are we joined unto God. But letting pass these wranglers, who will never be without store of such sophistical shifts, we do again return to our purposed argument, to shew you how, and in what sense, life and justification are attributed to works. John vi.

The places of faith and works, that seem at a blush to disagree, are here reconciled.

They that are well exercised in the reading of the holy scriptures, that they may reconcile the places of scripture that seem at a blush to be at discord, do teach that faith and works in very deed are not separated one from another. For the same Holy Spirit which giveth faith doth therewithal also regenerate the understanding and will, so that the faithful doth ardently desire, and do his endeavour in all things, to do service to God his maker. Therefore, for the unseparable knot betwixt faith and good works, which always keep company and attend upon[8] faith, we say, that justification is sometimes[9] somewhat unproperly attributed to works, which is somewhat more properly to be attributed to faith, but most properly of all to be ascribed to Christ apprehended by faith, who is in very deed the foundation and subject of our faith.

[6 rather, and who the Saviour of the world is, namely Christ.]

[7 recipimus salutem, Lat.] [8 sequuntur, Lat.]

[9 rather, that there is attributed to works that which, &c.; 'justification' is not in Lat.]

I will yet essay to make this more manifest. In true faith there are two things to be considered, reconciliation and obedience: reconciliation, because by faith we understand and verily believe, that God is reconciled to us for Christ his sake, by whom we are adopted into the number of the sons of God; and obedience, because they that are reconciled do wholly yield themselves to him to whom they be reconciled, with earnest desire and zeal to do his will and pleasure. So then we say that faith[1] is of two sorts, the justifying and the obeying faith[2]. Of the justifying faith[2] St Paul maketh mention,
[Rom. v. 1, 2.] where he saith: "Being justified by faith, we have peace toward God through the Lord Jesus Christ, by whom we are reconciled." Again he maketh mention of the obeying faith[2],
[Rom. vi. 16.] where he saith: "Know ye not, that to whom ye give yourselves as servants to obey, his servants ye are to whom ye do obey; whether it be of sin unto death, or of obedience unto righteousness?"—that is to say, which obedience maketh you to do the things that are righteous, and to be the servants of righteousness, which shall turn to you to eternal life; and not the servants of sin, which turneth unto death. Now therefore justification is properly attributed to the reconciling righteousness through Christ Jesus, and is improperly ascribed to the obeying righteousness, or righteousness of obedience. For the obeying righteousness is of the reconciling, and without the reconciling righteousness obedience should not be called righteousness. To which this is also to be added, that they which are justified do not put any confidence in this obedience, as that which is always spotted in this world by reason of our flesh.

To this also agreeth this other explication which I will here annex. The most proper work of faith is purification
[Acts xv. 9.] and sanctification; for St Peter doth expressly say, that by faith our hearts are purified. But in sanctification the holy scriptures do shew to be two especial things: first, that all the faithful are freely purified by the blood of Christ Jesus;
[1 Pet. i. 18, 19.] for again the same St Peter saith: "Ye know that you are redeemed not with transitory things, as gold and silver; but with the precious blood of Christ, as of an unspotted Lamb." St Paul saith: "Ye are sanctified[3] by the will of God through

[1 justitiam, Lat.; righteousness.] [2 faith, not in Lat.]
[3 Heb. x. 10, 14, sanctificati sumus, Lat.]

the oblation of the body of Jesus Christ once made. For with that one oblation he made them perfect for ever which are sanctified." St John also saith: "The blood of Jesus Christ the Son of God doth cleanse us from all sin." Therefore the most proper phrase of speech is to say, that we are sanctified through faith by the blood of Christ, who said: "I sanctify myself for them, that they also may be sanctified through the truth." The latter is, that they which are sanctified by the blood of Christ through faith, do day by day sanctify themselves, and give their minds to holiness; to the doing and study whereof the apostles do most earnestly exhort the saints. For Peter saith: "As he which called you is holy, so be ye also holy in your conversation[4]; because it is written, Be ye holy, for I am holy." St Paul saith: "This is the will of God, even your holiness," &c. 1 Thessal. iv. St John saith: "Now are we the sons of God; and yet it doth not appear what we shall be: but we know that, when he shall appear, we shall be like him; for we shall see him as he is. And every one that hath this hope in him purifieth himself, even as he also is pure." Now this purging or purification, which is made by our care and industry, is called by the name of sanctification, not because it is made by us as of ourselves, but because it is made of them that are sanctified by the blood of Christ, in respect of Christ his blood[5]. For unless that sanctification, which is the very true and only sanctification in deed, do go before, our sanctification (I mean, that which we work) is none at all. But if that go before, then is this of ours imputed for sanctification, although in the meanwhile the spots of sin remaining in us do defile it, and that we do put no confidence in it. Therefore, so often as thou shalt read in the holy scriptures that righteousness is attributed to our good works, thou shalt think straightways, that it is done for none other causes than those which I have hitherto already declared unto thee. For the apostolical Spirit cannot be repugnant or contrary to itself.

[1 John i. 7.]

[John xvii. 19.]

[1 John iii. 2, 3.]

This will yet be made a great deal more manifest, if we call to remembrance and do consider, that the apostles had to deal with two kinds of men: the one sort whereof did affirm,

The apostles against the righteousness of works.

[4 1 Pet. i. 15, 16, in omni conversatione, Lat.]

[5 in respect of Christ his blood, is an addition of the translator's.]

that they were sufficiently able of their own strength to satisfy or fulfil the law, and that they could by their deserts and good works merit eternal life; yea, they affirmed that the merit of Christ was not sufficient enough[1] to the getting of salvation, unless the righteousness of men were added thereunto. Against these Paul disputed very constantly and pithily in all his epistles; for they made Christ and the grace of God of none effect. The other sort of men were such as, abusing the doctrine of grace and faith, did wallow like swine in all filthy sins, because they thought that it was sufficient unto salvation if they did say that they believed; but they never declared their faith or belief by any good works, although occasion thereunto were given them. Against these did St Peter very well and wisely[2] dispute in the first chapter of his second epistle, and St James in the second chapter of his epistle. For he affirmeth, that Abraham was not justified by faith only, but by works: that is to say, that he was not justified by a vain opinion, but by faith which bare and was full of good works. For James doth use the names of faith and justification in one sense, and Paul in another. Paul putteth faith for an assured confidence in the merit of Christ; and he useth justification for absolution and remission of sins, for adoption into the number of the sons of God, and lastly[3] for the imputing of Christ his righteousness unto us. But in James faith doth signify a vain opinion: and justification doth import, not the imputing of righteousness, but the declaring of righteousness and adoption. For it is undoubtedly true, that the holy[4] apostles of Christ, St Peter and St James, would not by their writings make void the grace and merit of Christ, to advance the merits of mortal men; but rather to withstand the unpureness of them which put the faith of Christ in peril of disgracing[5], to the offence of all good men, living in the mean while most wickedly in detestable sins without repentance. Therefore the apostles of Christ, requiring good works at the hands of the faithful, do first of

The apostles against the abusers of grace and faith.

[1 per se, Lat. omitted; of itself.]
[2 constanter et acriter, Lat.]
[3 adeoque et, Lat.; and thus also.]
[4 fidelissimos, Lat.; the most faithful.]
[5 rather, which made a boast of faith in Christ to the offence, &c.]

all require a true and lively faith, and do refer them both[6] unto the grace of God.

Let us therefore most firmly hold, that the apostles do attribute justification, life, and salvation, to good works improperly; to true faith properly; but most properly to Christ, who is the subject and foundation of true faith. For although true faith[7] is not without good works, yet doth it justify without good works, by itself alone. For it is most certain, that life and salvation are bestowed on us after the same manner that health and life was given to the children of Israel, which in the wilderness were poisoned of the serpents. They had their health restored them not by any works, but by the only beholding and looking upon the brasen serpent: therefore we also are made partakers of eternal life by faith alone, which is the true beholding and looking up to Christ. "As Moses," saith our Saviour, "did lift up the serpent in the wilderness, so must the Son of man be lifted up; that every one which believeth in him should not perish, but have eternal life." And the apostle Paul saith: "Ye are saved by grace through faith; not of yourselves; it is the gift of God: not of works, lest any man should boast," &c.

Faith justifieth without works.

[John iii. 14, 15.]

[Eph. ii. 8, 9.]

With this doctrine of the evangelists and apostles do the testimonies of certain doctors of the church agree: some of which I will recite unto you, dearly beloved, not because these testimonies of the scripture are not sufficient, but because we will not seem to be the beginners and bringers in of new doctrines: although in very deed that can not be new, which is derived out of the evangelical and apostolic doctrine, albeit that all the doctors of the church should gainsay or deny it. Now therefore give ear how some, even of the best of them, do not in words only say and write, but also by proofs shew, that faith alone doth justify.

Origen, a very ancient writer, upon the third chapter of the epistle of St Paul to the Romans, doth say: "Paul saith that the justification of faith alone is sufficient for a man; so that every one that doth believe only is justified, although no works are once wrought by him. Now if we require an example, where any was ever justified by faith alone without good works; that thief, I suppose, is example good enough,

Origen in iii. ca. ad Roma.

[6 omnia, Lat.; all.]

[7 communi lege, Lat. omitted; by a general law.]

who, being crucified with Christ, did cry from the cross, 'Lord Jesu, remember me when thou comest into thy kingdom.' In the writings of the evangelists there is mention made of no good work which he in his life time did; and yet, because of this his faith only, Jesus said unto him: 'Verily I say unto thee, this day thou shalt be with me in paradise.' Therefore this thief was through faith justified without the works of the law. For after this request and prayer of his the Lord made no inquisition what his works were all his life long; neither did he look what works he would do after this faith and believing; but did immediately, upon his confession, both justify, and take him as a companion to go with him to paradise. Moreover to the woman, of whom mention is made in the gospel after St Luke, not for any work of the law, but for faith only he said, 'Thy sins are forgiven thee.' And again, 'Go in peace, thy faith hath made thee safe.' Furthermore, in many places of the gospel we find that our Saviour used the like kind of speech, making faith always to be the cause of men's salvation. And a little while after the same apostle saith: 'God forbid that I should glory in any thing but in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom the world is crucified to me, and I to the world.' Thou seest here that the apostle glorieth not of his own righteousness, or chastity, or wisdom, or other works or virtues of his own, but doth most plainly pronounce and say: 'Let him that glorieth glory in the Lord;' and so by that means all boasting is excluded[1]." And so forth, with many other sayings tending to this purpose.

[Luke xxiii. 42, 43.]

[Luke vii. 48, 50.]

[Gal. vi. 14.]

[1 Dicit (Paulus) sufficere solius fidei justificationem, ita ut credens quis tantummodo justificetur, etiamsi nihil ab eo operis fuerit expletum. Imminet igitur nobis, qui integram esse scripturam apostoli conamur asserere, et ordine suo cuncta constare, ut requiramus, quis sine operibus sola fide justificatus sit. Quantum igitur ad exemplum pertinet, sufficere arbitror illum latronem, qui, cum Christo crucifixus, clamavit ei de cruce, Domine Jesu, memento mei cum veneris in regnum tuum. Nec aliud quicquam describitur boni operis ejus in evangeliis, sed pro hac sola fide ait ei Jesus, Amen dico tibi, hodie mecum eris in paradiso... Per fidem enim justificatus est hic latro, sine operibus legis. Quia super hoc Dominus non requisivit quid prius operatus esset, nec exspectavit quid operis cum credidisset expleret, sed sola confessione justificatum comitem sibi eum paradisum ingressurus assumpsit. Sed et mulier illa, de qua in evangelio secundum Lucam refertur... ex

St Ambrose in his exposition of Paul his epistle unto the Romans, upon the third and fourth chapters, doth say: "They are freely justified, saith St Paul, because, when they work nothing, nor do any thing for God again, they are yet through faith only justified by the gift of God[2]. Ambrose.

"'According to the purpose of God's grace,' saith Paul: it was so ordained of God, that, laying the law aside, the grace of God should require faith only unto salvation[3]."

"This doth by the example of the prophet confirm the blessedness of the man to whom the Lord imputeth righteousness without works: he calleth them blessed, with whom the Lord hath covenanted, that without labour and keeping of the law they should be justified before their Maker[4]."

St John Chrysostom, treating of faith, of the law of nature, and of the Holy Ghost, doth expressly say: "I cannot prove that he which worketh the works of righteousness without faith doth enjoy eternal life: but I can by good proof shew that he which believed, without works, did both live and obtain the kingdom of heaven. No man without faith hath obtained life; but the thief believed only, and for his faith was justified by the most merciful God. And whereas Chrysost.

nullo legis opere, sed pro sola fide, ad eam (ait), Remittuntur tibi peccata tua: et iterum, Fides tua te salvam fecit, vade in pace. Sed et in multis evangelii locis hoc sermone usum legimus Salvatorem, ut credentis fidem causam dicat esse salutis ejus... Audi quid dicit (apostolus): Mihi autem absit gloriari, nisi in cruce Domini mei Jesu Christi, per quem mihi mundus crucifixus est, et ego mundo. Vides apostolum non gloriantem super justitia sua, neque super castitate, neque super sapientia, neque super ceteris virtutibus vel actibus suis, sed apertissime pronunciantem et dicentem, Qui gloriatur, in Domino glorietur; et sic exclusa est Judaica gloriatio, &c.—Orig. Comment. in ep. ad Roman. Lib. III. Tom. IV. Par. 1733—59, pp. 516, 17.]

[2 Justificati sunt gratis, quia nihil operantes, neque vicem reddentes, sola fide justificati sunt dono Dei.—Ambros. Comment. in ep. ad Rom. cap. III. v. 24, Tom. II. Append. Par. 1690, col. 46. But see above, page 336, note 3.]

[3 Secundum propositum gratiæ Dei] Sic decretum dicit Paulus a Deo, ut cessante lege solam fidem gratia Dei posceret ad salutem.—Ib. cap. iv. v. 5, col. 48.]

[4 Sicut et David dicit.] Hoc ipsum munit exemplo prophetæ beatitudinem hominis cui Deus accepto fert justitiam sine operibus. Beatos dicit, de quibus hoc sanxit Deus, ut sine labore et aliqua observatione sola fide justificentur apud Deum.—Ib. cap. IV. v. 6, col. 48.]

here, peradventure, thou wilt object, that he wanted time to live justly, and to do good works: I answer, that I do not greatly strive about that; but this only I stick to, that faith alone did justify and save him. For if he had lived any longer, and had neglected faith and works, he had undoubtedly fallen from salvation. But the only end and argument whereat I now shoot is, that faith of itself doth bring salvation, and that works of themselves did never save any workers that wrought them:" as Chrysostom doth at large declare by the example of the captain[1] Cornelius[2].

These testimonies, I suppose, are sufficient to wits that will be answered and do not stand obstinately in quarrellings and janglings; otherwise I could allege a great number more. But I will not be over-tedious unto you, dearly beloved, nor seem to be endless[3] in an evident matter.

Of merits or of the reward of good works.

But now because to this treatise of the righteousness of works there is a question annexed touching the merits of good works; I will therefore summarily say somewhat of merits, or rather, of the hire and reward of good works: to this end specially, lest any man, thinking irreligiously of the merits of good works, do thereby win to himself not good but evil works.

No good merits in man.

The name of merits is an unacquainted term, not used in the scriptures. For in that signification wherein our merit-workers use it, to wit, for meritorious works; for that, I mean, whereunto both life and the grace of God is of duty given as debt that is due; in that signification, I say, it doth obscure the grace of God, and maketh man too proud and arrogant. What, I pray you, can our works deserve, since

[1 centurionis, Lat.]

[2 Ἄνευ πίστεως τὸν ἐργαζόμενον ἔργα δικαιοσύνης οὐ δύνῃ παραστῆσαι ζήσαντα, ἄνευ δὲ ἔργων τὸν πιστὸν δύναμαι δεῖξαι καὶ ζήσαντα καὶ βασιλείας ἀξιωθέντα. Οὐδεὶς ἄνευ πίστεως ἔζησεν· ὁ δὲ λῃστὴς πιστεύσας μόνον ἐδικαιώθη. Καὶ μή μοι λέγε, οὐκ ἔσχε καιρὸν πολιτεύεσθαι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐγὼ τοῦτο φιλονεικῶ, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο παρέστησα, ὅτι ἡ πίστις καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἔσωσεν. Εἰ γὰρ ἐπέζησε τῇ πίστει, καὶ ἔργων ἠμέλησεν, ἐξέπιπτε τῆς σωτηρίας. Τὸ δὲ σκοπούμενον νῦν καὶ ζητούμενον, ὅτι καὶ ἡ πίστις καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἔσωσεν, ἔργα δὲ καθ' ἑαυτὰ οὐδαμοῦ τοὺς ἐργάτας ἐδικαίωσε. Καὶ θέλεις ἰδεῖν ἀκριβῶς, ὅτι ἔργα ἄνευ πίστεως οὐ ζωοποιεῖ; Μεμαρτύρητο Κορνήλιος, &c.—Chrysost. Serm. de Fide et Lege Naturæ et Sancto Spir. Opp. Tom. I. Par. 1718, p. 826. But this treatise is not Chrysostom's.]

[3 spinosus, Lat.]

none of the saints durst be so bold as to plead their merits before the Lord? Job crieth: "If I will justify myself, mine own mouth shall condemn me. If I will go about to shew myself to be an innocent, he[4] shall prove me a wicked doer. If I wash myself with snow-water[5], and make my hands never so clean at the well[6], yet shalt thou dip me in the mire, and mine own garments shall defile[7] me." David crieth: "Enter not into judgment with thy servant; for in thy sight shall no man living be justified." Christ our Lord in the gospel saith: "When ye have done all things that are commanded you, then say, We are unprofitable servants; we have done that we ought to do." But a little before our Lord said: "Doth the master thank the servant which doth the things that are commanded him to do?" The holy apostle St Paul also crieth: "I do not despise the grace of God: for if righteousness be of the law, then did Christ die in vain." Again, in the gospel after St Luke, the Pharisee is greatly blamed, which could not be content to put confidence in his own righteousness, but would needs boast of his merits also. And Nabuchodonosor felt no little plague for saying that the kingdom of Babylon did come unto him by his own art, industry, power, and virtue. By how much a greater punishment, therefore, shall we think them to be worthy of which are persuaded, and make their brags, that they by their merits have deserved or earned the kingdom of heaven?

[Job ix. 20, 30.]
[Psal. cxliii. 2.]
[Luke xvii. 9, 10.]
[Gal. ii. 21.]
[Luke xviii. 9—14.]
[Dan. iv. 28—33.]

A reward is given to good works.

And yet all this doth not tend to the making void of the stipend of good works, or to the denying of the reward that is prepared for virtues: for he is true which promised, and what he promised he will perform. Now he promised rewards to them that work righteousness: even as also according to his justice and truth he hath threatened terrible punishments to wicked and impenitent sinners. But the promises of God are of two sorts; to wit, they lay before our eyes the gifts and rewards of this present life, and of the life to come. For the Lord in the gospel after St Mark doth say: "Verily I say unto you, there is no man that hath forsaken house, or brethren, or lands, for my sake

[Mark x. 29, 30.]

[4 So Coverdale, 1535.]
[5 quasi aquis nivis, Lat.; as it were with.]
[6 at the well, not in Lat.]
[7 abominabuntur me, Lat.]

and the gospel's, but he shall receive an hundreth-fold now at this present with persecutions; and in the world to come life everlasting." And Paul saith: "Godliness is profitable to all things, having promise of the life that is now, and of that which is to come. This is a sure saying, and by all means worthy to be received. For therefore we both labour and suffer rebuke, because we have our hope settled in the living God, &c." And here it will do well to reckon up and cite the testimonies of scripture, which do concern the reward of good works. I will therefore recite a few, but such as shall be evident and pertaining to the matter. The Lord in Esay crieth: "Say to the just, that it shall go well with him; for he shall eat the fruit of his study, or travail. And woe to the wicked sinner; for he shall be rewarded according to the works of his hands." In Jeremy we read: "Leave off from weeping; for thy labour shall be rewarded thee." And in the gospel the Lord saith: "Blessed are ye, when men speak all evil sayings against you, lying, for my sake. Rejoice ye, and be glad; for great is your reward in heaven." The apostle Paul also saith: "Glory, honour, and peace, to every one that worketh good, to the Jew first, and also to the Gentile." Again: "We must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ, that every one may bear the deeds of his body, according to that which he hath done, whether it be good or bad." And again: "Every one shall receive a reward according to his labour[1]."

[2 Tim. iv. 8—10.]

[Isai. iii. 10, 11.]

[Jer. xxxi. 16.]

[Matt. v. 11.]

[Rom. ii. 10.]

[2 Cor. v. 10.]

To whom the rewards are promised.

Now let us remember, that the reward is promised and great gifts are prepared for them that labour manfully. To sluggards and slow-backs are imminent the evils of this present life, and also of the life to come. To them that strive lawfully the garland is due. But if it happen that the reward be deferred, and that they which strive receive not the promises by and by out of hand; yet let the afflicted think that their afflictions tend to their commodity, and that they are laid upon them by their heavenly Father. Let not their courage therefore fail them, but let them shew themselves men in the fight, and call to God for aid; for "whosoever persevereth unto the end, he shall be saved." Let every one call to his remembrance the old examples of the holy fathers, to whom many promises were made, the

[Matt. xxiv. 13.]

[1 1 Cor. iii. 8; suam mercedem, Lat.]

fruit whereof they did not reap till many a day were come and gone, wherein they strove against and did overcome full many a sharp temptation. The apostle Paul crieth: "I have fought a good fight, I have fulfilled my course, I have kept the faith. Henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous judge, shall give me in that day: not to me only, but to them also that have loved his appearing." They must lay before their eyes the truth of God, who saith: "Heaven and earth shall pass, but my word shall not pass." The Israelites, verily, were a long time holden captive in Egypt: but the Lord did not forget his promise; for in a fit and convenient time he set them out at liberty with abundant joy and glory for the triumph gotten over their oppressors. The Amalechites and Chanaanites did a great while, I confess, exalt themselves in sin and wickedness; but when the measure of their iniquity was fully filled, then were they throughly recompensed for their pains by him that is the severe revenger of unrepented wickedness. The scripture therefore exhorteth all men to have sure hope, persevering patience, and constancy invincible: of which I spake in the third sermon of this third Decade. To this place do belong, as I suppose, those excellent words of St Paul, where he saith: "It is a faithful saying: for if we be dead with him, we shall also live with him: if we be patient, we shall also reign with him: if we deny him, he also shall deny us: if we be unfaithful, he abideth faithful; he cannot deny himself." And again: "Cast not away your confidence, which hath great recompence of reward. For ye have need of patience, that, after ye have done the will of God, ye may receive the promise. For yet a very little while, and he that shall come will come, and will not tarry. And the just shall live by faith: and if he withdraw himself, my soul shall have no pleasure in him. But we are not of them that withdraw ourselves unto perdition; but we pertain to faith, to the winning of the soul[2]."

[2 Tim. iv. 7, 8.]

[Matt. xxiv. 35.]

[2 Tim. ii. 11–13.]

Yet for all this we must not abuse these and such like testimonies touching the reward of works, nor the very name of merits, where it is found to be used of the fathers; neither must we wrest it against the doctrine of mere grace and

We must not abuse these places, which confirm the reward of good works.

[2 Heb. x. 35—39. So Cranmer, 1539.]

Hire is due, but heritage proceedeth of the parents' good-will.

the merits of Christ our Saviour. We must think that the kingdom of heaven and the other special gifts of God are not as the hire that is due to servants, but as the inheritance of the sons of God. For although in the last day of judgment the judge shall reckon up many works, for which he shall seem as it were to recompense the elect with eternal life; yet, before that recital of good works, he shall say: [Matt. xxv. 34.] "Come, ye blessed of my Father, possess the kingdom prepared for you since the beginning of the world." Now if thou demandest, why he shall in the day of judgment make mention rather of works than of faith; mine answer is, that it is a point or usual custom in the law for judgment not only to be just, but also by the judge's pronunciation to have the cause made manifest to all men wherefore it is just. And God doth deal with us after the order of men: wherefore he doth not only give just judgment, but will also be known of all men to be a just and upright judge. But we are not able to look into the faith of other men, which doth consist in the mind; and therefore we judge by their words and deeds. Honest words and works bear witness of a faithful heart; whereas unhonest pranks and speeches do bewray a kind of unbelief. The works of charity and humanity do declare that we have faith in deed: whereas the lack of them do argue the contrary. And therefore the scripture admonisheth us, that the judgment shall be according to our works. To this sense agreeth that in the twelfth of Matthew, where it is said, "By thy deeds[1] thou shalt be justified, and by the same thou shalt be condemned." To Abraham, after [Gen. xxii. 16, 17.] he had determined to offer his son Isaac, it was said: "Because thou hast done this thing, and hast not spared thine only-begotten son, I will bless thee, and multiply thee exceedingly, &c." But it is manifest that God made that promise to Abraham before Isaac was born; yea, he made it as soon as Abraham was brought out of his country: therefore the promise was not now first of all annexed as a reward unto the works of Abraham, &c.

How or in what sense God is said to give a reward unto our good works.

Therefore God examineth our works according to his own favourable mercy, and not with the extremity and rigour of law; and doth reward them with infinite benefits, because they proceed from faith in Christ, albeit that, for the sin

[1 verse 37; but Bullinger's Latin is ex dictis tuis, by thy words.]

which abideth in us, they be unpure and nothing meritorious. Now he doth hereby give us a proof that he hath a regard of us and our works; because, in testifying the greatness of his love toward us, he doth vouchsafe so to honour not only us, but also his own gifts in us, which he of his great goodness hath graciously bestowed upon us. Our bountiful God doth herein imitate the manner of dealing which fleshly fathers use in this world toward their children: for they bestow gifts upon their children as rewards of their well-doing, thereby provoking them to greater virtues, when as in very deed all things belong to the children by right of inheritance; and the true and proper cause of this reward, which the father giveth to the child, is not the obedience of the son, but the mere good-will and favour of the father. Moreover herein are two things to be observed. First, although God doth after the manner of men allure us with rewards, draw us on with gifts, and keep us in good works with manifold recompences; yet must not the reward or recompence be the mark whereat the worker ought to look, respecting rather his own glory and commodity than the love and honour that he oweth to God. God will be worshipped for love's sake only; and he will be loved of mere good-will, and not for the hope of any reward. For as he requireth a cheerful giver, so doth he look for such an uncoacted[2] affection, voluntary love, and free good-will, as children do naturally bear to their parents. The last is, that our works, which some call merits, are nothing else but the mere gifts of God. Now he were a very unthankful person, which, when of another man's liberality he hath licence given to occupy his land to his best commodity, will at length go about to translate the right thereof from the true owner, which lent it him, unto himself. But because I would be loath, by drawing out this treatise too far, to detain you longer than reason would, I will recite unto you, dearly beloved, a notable conference of places in the scripture made by St Augustine, whereby ye may evidently understand and infer a conclusion, that the rewards of good works, or merits of the saints, are the very free and mere grace of God.

St Augustine his sentence touching the

Therefore in the seventh chapter of his book, *De Gratia et Libero Arbitrio*, thus he saith: "John the forerunner of

[2 uncoacted: uncompelled.]

merits of the saints.

our Lord doth say, 'A man can receive nothing, unless it
[John iii. 27.] be given him from heaven.' If therefore thy good works be the gifts of God, then God crowneth thy merits, not as thy merits, but as his own gifts. Let us therefore consider the merits of the apostle Paul, (that is to say, the merits which he saith are in himself,) whether they be the gifts of God or
[2 Tim. iv. 7.] no. 'I have,' saith he, 'fought a good fight, I have fulfilled my course, I have kept the faith.' First of all, these good works had been no good works, unless good thoughts had gone before them. Give ear, therefore, what he sayeth
[2 Cor. iii. 5.] of those good thoughts: 'not because we can think anything of ourselves, as of ourselves, but our ability is of God.' Then also let us consider every several particularity. 'I have fought,' saith he, 'a good fight.' I demand, by what power he fought? whether by that which he had of himself, or by that which was given him from above? It is unlikely that so great a teacher of the Gentiles as the holy apostle St Paul was should be ignorant of the law, which in Deu-
[Deut viii. 17, 18.] teronomy is heard to say: 'Say not thou in thy heart, Mine own strength and the power of mine own hand hath done this wonderful thing: but thou shalt remember the Lord thy God, because he giveth thee strength and power to do it.' But what doth it avail to fight well, unless the victory do ensue? And who, I pray you, giveth the victory, but
[1 Cor. xv. 57.] he of whom St Paul himself doth say, 'Thanks be to God, which giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ?' And in another place, when he had cited the place out of the Psalms, where it is said, 'Because for thy sake we are killed all day, and are counted as sheep appointed to the
[Rom viii. 36, 37.] slaughter,' he did immediately add, and say: 'But in all these things we overcome, or have the victory, through him which loved us.' We have the victory, therefore, not through ourselves, but through him that loved us. After that again he said: 'I have fulfilled my course.' But as
[Rom. ix. 16.] he said this, so in another place also he saith: 'It is not of the willer, nor of the runner, but of God which taketh mercy.' Which sentence cannot be by any means so inverted, that we may say, It is not of God which taketh mercy, but of the willer, and of the runner. For whosoever dare take upon him so to invert that sentence of the holy apostle, he doth openly shew that he flatly gainsayeth the

words of St Paul. Last of all he said; 'I have kept the faith:' but in another place again he confesseth, saying, 'I have obtained mercy that I might be faithful.' He said not, I have obtained mercy because I am faithful; but, 'that I might be faithful:' declaring thereby that faith itself cannot be obtained without the mercy of God; and that faith is the gift of God, as he doth most evidently teach where he saith, 'Ye are saved by grace through faith; and that not of yourselves, it is the gift of God.' For they might say, We have therefore received grace, because we have believed; by that means attributing, as it were, faith to themselves, and grace to God: but, to prevent that insinuation, the holy apostle St Paul, when he had said, 'By faith,' doth straightways add, 'And that not of yourselves, it is the gift of God.' Again, lest they should say that they by their works did meritoriously deserve such a gift, he doth presently annex, 'Not of works, lest any man should boast.' Not because he did deny or make void good works, considering that he saith, that God doth reward every man according to his works; but for because works are of faith, and not faith of works. And so by this means our works of righteousness proceed from him, from whom that faith doth also come, touching which it is said, 'The just doth live by faith[1].'" [1 Cor. vii. 25.] [Eph. ii. 8.]

[1 Dicit et Joannes, præcursor Domini nostri, Non potest homo accipere quicquam, nisi fuerit ei datum de cœlo... Si ergo Dei dona sunt bona merita tua, non Deus coronat merita tua tanquam merita tua, sed tanquam dona sua. Proinde consideremus ipsa merita apostoli Pauli, —et videamus, utrum merita ipsius, tanquam ipsius, id est, ex ipso ei comparata, an dona sint Dei. Bonum, inquit, certamen certavi, cursum consummavi, fidem servavi. Primo, ista bona opera, si non ea præcessissent cogitationes bonæ, nulla essent. Attendite itaque quid de ipsis cogitationibus dicat; ait enim scribens ad Corinthios, Non quia idonei sumus cogitare aliquid a nobis, tanquam a nobismetipsis, sed sufficientia nostra ex Deo est. Deinde singula inspiciamus: Bonum, inquit, certamen certavi. Quæro qua virtute certaverit, utrum quæ illi ex semetipso fuerit, an quæ desuper data sit? Sed absit ut tantus doctor gentium ignoraverit legem Dei, cujus vox est in Deuteronomio: Ne dicas in corde tuo, Fortitudo mea et potentia manus meæ fecit mihi virtutem magnam hanc; sed memoraberis Domini Dei tui: quia ipse tibi dat fortitudinem facere virtutem. Quid autem prodest bonum certamen, nisi sequatur victoria? Et quis dat victoriam, nisi ille de quo dicit ipse, Gratias Deo qui dat nobis victoriam per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum? Et alio loco, cum commemorasset testi-

All this have I hitherto word for word recited out of St Augustine: wherein all that may be said concerning the merits of good works are sufficiently well contained, and so soundly confirmed by proofs of scripture, that I mean not to add any thing unto them: for I see it sufficiently manifest for all to understand what and how the ancient fathers thought and taught of the merits of sinful men. For what can be said more briefly, sincerely, and fully, than that a reward is prepared for the good works of men? but yet that that reward is nothing else but the grace, and that the merits or good works of the saints are the gift[1], of God; which merits while he crowneth, he crowneth his own gifts. In all this therefore the ecclesiastical and apostolic doctrine remaineth still immutable and unreprovable; that we are justified and saved by the grace of God[2] through faith, and not through our own good works or merits.

Good works must be done according to the rule of the word of God.

We do now again return to good works, and are come to expound the description or definition of good works which we did set down in the beginning of this treatise. Now therefore,

monium de psalmo, Quoniam propter te mortificamur tota die, deputati sumus ut oves occisionis; subjecit atque ait, Sed in his omnibus supervincimus per eum qui dilexit nos. Non ergo per nos, sed per eum qui dilexit nos. Deinde dixit, Cursum consummavi. Sed ille hoc dixit, qui alio loco dicit, Non volentis, neque currentis, sed miserentis est Dei. Quæ sententia nullo modo potest etiam sic converti ut dicatur, Non miserentis Dei, sed volentis atque currentis est hominis. Quisquis enim hoc ausus fuerit dicere, aperte se ostendit Apostolo contradicere. Postremo dixit, Fidem servavi. Sed ille hoc dixit qui alibi ait, Misericordiam consecutus sum ut fidelis essem. Non enim dixit, Misericordiam consecutus sum, quia fidelis eram; sed, ut fidelis essem: hinc ostendens etiam ipsam fidem haberi nisi Deo miserante non posse, et esse donum Dei: quod apertissime docet dicens, Gratia salvi facti estis per fidem; et hoc non ex vobis, sed Dei donum est. Possent enim dicere, Ideo accepimus gratiam quia credidimus, tanquam sibi fidem tribuentes, gratiam Deo: propter hoc Apostolus cum dixisset, per fidem, et hoc, inquit, non ex vobis, sed Dei donum est. Rursus, ne dicerent se suis operibus donum tale meruisse, continuo subjecit, Non ex operibus, ne forte quis extollatur: non quia negavit aut evacuavit opera bona, cum dicat Deum unicuique reddere secundum opera ejus; sed quia opera sunt ex fide, non ex operibus fides; ac per hoc ab illo sunt nobis opera justitiæ, a quo est ipsa fides de qua dictum est, Justus ex fide vivit.—Augustin. de Grat. et Lib. Arb. ad Valentin. Opp. Par. 1531, Tom. VII. p. 268, coll. 2, 3, capp. 6, 7.]

[1 gratiam, Lat.] [2 sola gratia Dei, Lat.]

unless our works do spring in us from God through faith, they cannot have the name of good works: but contrarily, if they do proceed from God through faith, then are they also framed according to the rule of the word of God. And for that cause did I in the definition of good works significantly say, that they are done of them which are regenerate by the good Spirit of God, through faith, according to the word of God. For God is not pleased with the works which we of ourselves do of our own brains and authority[3], without warrantise of his word, imagine and devise. For the thing that he doth most of all like and look for in us is faith and obedience, which is most evident to be seen in the very example of our grandfather Adam; and contrarily, he doth mislike and utterly reject the works of our own choice and our good intents, which spring in and rise upon our own minds and judgments; as I will by these testimonies of scripture declare unto you.

In the twelfth of Deuteronomy we read: "Every man shall not do that which is righteous in his own eyes. Whatsoever I command you, that shall ye observe to do it: neither shalt thou add anything to it, nor take anything from it." Moreover in the history of Samuel there is a notable example of this matter to be seen. For Saul, the king of Israel, received a commandment to kill all the Amalekites, with all their beasts and cattle: but he, contrary to the precept, through a good intent (as he thought) of his own, and for a religious zeal's sake of his own choosing, reserved the fattest oxen for to be sacrificed: and for that cause the prophet came and said unto him, "Is a sacrifice so pleasant and acceptable to the Lord as obedience is? Behold, to obey is better than sacrifice; and to hearken is better than the fat of rams. For rebellion[4] is as the sin of witchcraft, and stubbornness[5] is as the vanity of idolatry." Lo, here in these few words thou hast the goodly praise and commendation of the religion of our own inventing, and of our own good works which do arise of our own good intents and purposes. They which do neglect the precepts of the Lord to follow their own good intents and forecasts are flatly called[6] witches, apostates, and wicked idolaters. They

Deut. xii.

[1 Sam. xv. 22, 23.]

[3 et intentione bona, Lat. omitted; and good intention.]
[4 apostasia sive rebellio, Lat.]
[5 vel nolle obsequi, Lat. omitted; or unwillingness to be obedient.]
[6 a veritate divina, Lat. omitted; by the truth of God.]

seem in their own eyes verily to be jolly fellows, and true worshippers of God, and zealous followers of the traditions of the holy fathers, bishops, kings, and princes: but God, which cannot lie, doth flatly pronounce that their works do differ nothing from witchcraft, apostasy, and blasphemous idolatry, than which there can be nothing more heinous by any means devised. Therefore the Lord in the gospel, citing that place out of Esay's prophecy, doth plainly condemn, reject, and tread under foot all those works which we choose to ourselves, having their beginning of our own good intents and purposes, where he saith: "In vain do they worship me, teaching doctrines the precepts of men. Every planting, which my Father hath not planted, shall be plucked up by the roots. Let them alone; they be blind leaders of the blind." And thereupon it is that St Paul did so boldly affirm, that the precepts of men are contrary to the truth, and are mere lies. The same Paul in one place saith, "Whatsoever is not of faith is sin:" and in another place, "Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God."

[Matt. xv. 9, 13, 14.]

[Tit. i. 14.]

[Rom. xiv. 23; x. 17.]

Whereupon we may gather, that the works which are not framed by the express word of God, or by a sure consequence derived from it, are so far from being good works, that they are plainly called sins. Enforce thou, I pray thee, never so great a good turn upon a man against his will, and see what favour thou shalt win at his hand, and how thou shalt please him with that enforced benefit. Therefore good works do first of all require the precise and express observing of God's will, to which alone they ought to tend[1]. In his epistle to the Colossians the same apostle doth openly condemn the Greek ἐθελοθρησκείαν, that is, the voluntary religion which they of their own choice and mind brought in to be observed. And what need have we, I pray you, to invent to ourselves other new kinds of good works, considering that we have not yet done those works which God himself[2] prescribeth, and doth in express words require at our hands? By this now our adversaries may perceive, that we do not altogether simply condemn good works, but those alone which we, by rejecting the word of God, do first set abroach by our own imaginations and fantastical inventions: of which sort are many

[1 to which—tend, not in Lat.]

[2 jure, Lat. omitted; of good right.]

upstart works of our holy monks and sacrificing shavelings[3]. But to conclude: the works that are repugnant to the word of God are by no means worthy of any place or honour.

And that we may more rightly perceive the sense or meaning of good works, we must in mine opinion diligently observe these words of the apostle: "We are created in Christ Jesus unto good works, which God hath before ordained that we should walk in them." He maketh here two notes concerning those that are good works indeed. The first is, "We are," saith he, "created in Christ Jesus unto good works." It doth therefore necessarily follow, that good works are wrought of him which is by true faith graffed in Christ Jesu: for unless the branch abide in the vine, it cannot bring forth fruit. All the works therefore of the unfaithful, howsoever they shine with the title of righteousness, are notwithstanding not good works in very deed. The latter is, "Which God hath before ordained, that we should walk in them." We must not therefore make account, that all the works which men may do are to be counted good works indeed; but those only which God hath ordained of old that we should walk in them. Now what works those be, the Lord in his law (which is the eternal will of God) hath very plainly expressed. And thereupon it is that the Lord in the gospel, being demanded questions concerning eternal life and the very true virtues, sendeth the demander unto the law, and saith: "What is written in the law?" And again; "If thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments." Therefore the ten commandments are a most sure and absolute platform of good works: which that ye may the better understand, I will briefly recapitulate, and as it were in a picture lay it before your eyes.

Good works indeed.

[Eph. ii. 10.]

[Luke x. 26.]

[Matt. xix. 17.]

The ten commandments are a platform of good works.

To the first precept thou shalt refer the fear, the faith, and love of God, with assured hope, persevering patience, and constancy invincible in trouble and afflictions. To the second belongeth the true and sincere worship wherewith God is pleased, with the utter refusal of all superstition and perverse religion. Upon the third doth depend the reverence of God's majesty, the free confession of his might, the holy[4] invocation of his name, and the sanctification of the same. In the fourth

[3] monachorum et sacrificorum, Lat.]

[4] et perseverantem, Lat. omitted; and enduring.]

is comprehended the moderate conservation of the ecclesiastical ceremonies, the preaching of God's word, public prayers, and whatsoever else doth belong to the outward service or external worship due to God. To the fifth thou mayest annex the natural love of children toward their parents, of men toward their country and kinsfolks, the due obedience that we owe to the magistrates and all in authority, and lastly, the offices of civil humanity. To the sixth thou shalt join justice and judgment, the protection of widows and orphans, the delivering of the oppressed and afflicted, well-doing to all men, and doing hurt to no man. To the seventh thou shalt add the faith of wedded couples, the offices of marriage, the honest and godly bringing up of children, with the study of chastity, temperance, and sobriety. To the eighth is to be reckoned upright dealing in contracts, liberality, bountifulness, and hospitality. Under the ninth is couched the study of truth through all our life-time, faith in words and deeds, with decent, honest, and profitable speech. In the tenth and last thou mayest remember good affections, holy wishes, with all holy and honest thoughts. And so this is the compendious platform of good works. Now if thou desire to have it more briefly expressed than this that thou seest, then turn thyself, and hearken to the words of Christ our Lord, who gathereth these ten into two principal points, and saith: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy mind; and thy neighbour as thyself. Whatsoever therefore ye would that men should do to you, even so do ye to them."

[Matt. xxii. 37, 39; and vii. 12.]

What be good works in very deed, according to the testimonies of the ancient prophets.

Upon these precepts of the Lord all the faithful, which desire to do good works, must surely fix their eyes and minds, and that too so much the more diligently and constantly as they do more surely and evidently perceive and see, that God in the law and the prophets doth require nothing else nor any other works at the hand of his elect and chosen servants. Go to now therefore, let us hear out of the holy prophets some such evident testimonies touching good works as do consent and wholly agree with the law of the Lord. Moses in Deuteronomy crieth: "And now, Israel, what doth the Lord thy God require of thee, but to fear the Lord thy God, and to walk in all his ways, to love him, and to serve the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul; that thou keep the commandments of the Lord, and his ordi-

[Deut. x. 12, 13.]

nances, which I command thee this day?" And the kingly prophet David in the fifteenth Psalm asketh this question: "Lord, who shall dwell in thy tabernacle?" and presently answereth it himself, saying: "Even he that walketh uprightly, and doth the thing that is just and right;" and so forth, as it is contained in the ten commandments. Esay also, in his thirty-third chapter, moveth the same question, and answereth it even so as David had done before him. Jeremy, in the twenty-second chapter, doth urge and reiterate these words to the Jews: "Thus the Lord commandeth: keep equity and righteousness, deliver the oppressed from the power of the violent, do not grieve nor oppress the stranger, the fatherless, nor the widow, and shed no innocent blood in this place." And Ezechiel, in his eighteenth chapter, knitteth up a beadrow[1] of good works, in no point unlike to these, saving only that it is somewhat more largely amplified. In Osee the Lord saith: "I desire mercy[2] more than sacrifice, and the knowledge of God more than whole burnt-offerings." [Hosea vi. 6.] Micheas doth diligently inquire what the worshipper of God should do to please him withal, and what works he should do to delight the Lord; and immediately, by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, he maketh answer, saying: "I will shew thee[3], O man, what is good; and what the Lord requireth of thee: namely, to do justly, to love mercy, and with reverence to walk before thy God." [Mic. vi. 8.] In like manner the prophet Zachary, to them that demanded of him certain questions touching virtues and such good works as please the Lord, gave this answer, saying: "Thus saith the Lord of hosts; Execute true judgment, shew mercy and loving-kindness every man to his brother: do the widow, the fatherless, the stranger and the poor, no wrong: let no man imagine evil in his heart against his brother: neither be ye lovers of false oaths: for these are the things which I do hate, saith the Lord." [Zech. vii. 9, 10; and viii. 17.]

With this doctrine of the prophets doth the preaching of the evangelists and apostles fully agree, teaching in every place that charity, righteousness, and innocency are the scope and sum of all good works. The apostle James saith: "Pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father is [James i. 27.]

[1 catalogum, Lat.]
[2 beneficentiam, pietatem seu misericordiam, Lat.]
[3 So Coverdale's Bible, 1535, and the Vulgate.]

this, To visit the fatherless and widows in their adversity, and to keep himself unspotted of the world."

To what end good works must be done.

It remaineth now for me to draw to an end, and in the rest that is yet behind to be spoken touching the description of good works to confer places of the scripture for the confirmation and plain exposition of the same. Now therefore we said, that good works indeed are wrought by them that are regenerate, to the glory of God, the ornament of our life, and the profit of our neighbour. For the Lord in the gospel [Matt. v. 16.] prescribeth this end to good works, where he saith: "Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven." The apostle Paul also oftener than once, exhorting us to good works, doth, as a most effectual cause to set them forward, [Tit. ii. 10.] add: "That by those works of ours we may adorn the doctrine of our Lord and Saviour Christ Jesus." And even as a comely and cleanly garment adorneth a man, so do good works indeed set forth the life of christian people. For hereupon it riseth, that the apostles of Christ did so often [Eph. iv. 22—24; Col. iii. 9, 10.] persuade us to put off the old man, and put on the new which is created in the similitude and likeness of God. For thereby we obtain both honour and glory; we both are, and are called, the servants, yea, and the sons of our Lord God, whose property and virtue shineth in us, to the glory and praise of his holy name. And as he doth require good works at our hands, so, if we do them, we on the one side do please and delight him, and he on the other doth honour us again: as may be proved by many testimonies of the holy scripture. But the thing itself is so plain and without all controversy, that it needeth no business to prove it at all. He, verily, doth every minute augment in us his gifts, while we are intentive to do [Matt. xxv. 28, 29.] good works; for in the gospel he saith: "To every one that hath shall be given, and he shall abound; and from him that hath not shall be taken even that which he hath, and shall be given to him that hath." To this also may be added, that God is favourable to them that work righteousness, and doth enrich them even with many temporal gifts, and at the last bring them to life everlasting. For the apostle Paul doth [Rom. ii.] expressly say: "God shall reward every man according to his deeds; to them which, by continuing in well-doing, seek for glory, and honour, and immortality, eternal life;" and

again, "Glory, and honour, and peace, to every one that worketh well:" although the godly in all their good works do not (as I told you before) respect so much the recompence and reward at God's hand, as the advancement of God's glory, the fulfilling of his will, and the profit of our neighbour. For Paul saith: "Do all things to the glory of God:" and again, "Let no man seek his own, but every one another's profit: even as I do in all things please all men, not seeking mine own commodity, but the profit of many, that they may be saved." Therefore all the godly do so direct and temper their works, that they may please, delight, and honour God, and profit many men; for in so doing they express, or represent, the nature of God, whose sons they both are, and are also called; for he doth liberally pour out his benefits upon all creatures; and therefore his sons are beneficial and bent to do good to all men. [1 Cor. x. 31, 24, 33.]

Thus much had I hitherto to say touching the nature or property, cause, end, and effect, that is, the very true and right meaning[1], of good works: by which I hope it[2] is evident to be perceived, how and in what sense the Lord in the scriptures is said to attribute the name of righteousness and justification[3] unto the good works of the saints his servants: and that true principle[4] of our religion remaineth[5] firm and unreproveable, wherein we confess and hold that "we are justified by the grace of God for Christ his sake through faith, and not for works." Now therefore there is nothing more behind but this only; for us to make our humble petition to God for true faith in Christ our Lord, and that by his grace he will so guide us, that we may now in works put that in practice which hitherto we have been taught in the words of this treatise[6]; that is to say, that we may in good works indeed express the faith which we in words profess that we have in Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen[7].

[1 ratione, Lat.] [2 etiam illud, Lat.]

[3 mercedemque reddere, Lat. omitted; and to render a reward.]

[4 orthodoxum et primarium dogma, Lat.]

[5 nihilominus, Lat. omitted; notwithstanding.]

[6 de bonis operibus, Lat. omitted; concerning good works.]

[7 The greater part of this ninth Sermon is extracted from Bullinger's treatise, De vera hominis Christiani justificatione, which, dated at Zurich, August 1543, forms the preface to his Commentary on the Gospel of St John.]

OF SIN, AND OF THE KINDS THEREOF; TO WIT, OF ORIGINAL AND ACTUAL SIN, AND OF SIN AGAINST THE HOLY GHOST: AND LASTLY, OF THE MOST SURE AND JUST PUNISHMENT OF SINS.

THE TENTH SERMON.

We have lastly now to discourse of sin, which, as I told you, is to be referred to the treatise of the law. Of which that I may lawfully, religiously, rightly, and profitably speak to the edifying of you all, I shall desire you to make your humble prayers with me to God the Father, in the name of Christ his Son, our gracious Lord and Mediator[1].

The name of sin, whereupon it riseth.

Sin is of most men taken for error; for that, I mean, whereby we do not only err from the thing which is true, right, just and good, but do also follow and decline to that which is naught. The Latins derive their word *peccatum*, sin, of *pellicatus*, whore-hunting; which is a fault of wedded people that are corrupted with the spirit of fornication, as when men prefer harlots before their lawful wives. And this definition, verily, doth wonderfully agree to this present treatise. For all we that do believe are by faith hand-fasted to our God, as to our spouse and husband: if therefore we prefer other gods before him, or choose rather to serve them; if, I say, we let pass the true goods in deed, to follow the shadow of goods, vain hopes, and the pernicious pleasures of this world; then do we sin indeed, and commit fornication against our spouse and husband[2]. But the learned sort do for the most part put a difference betwixt *peccatum* and *delictum*, which both, in effect, do signify sins[3]: but they call that *delictum*, when the thing is not done that should be done; and that they call *peccatum*, when that is done that should be left undone. St Hierome seemeth to have taken *delictum* for the first fall to sin[4].

[1 The Father—Mediator, added by the translator.]

[2 and—husband, an addition of the translator's.]

[3 which—sins, the translator's.]

[4 —quærimus quid significent (delicta), quove distent a peccatis... Aiunt enim quod παραπτώματα (delicta) quasi initia peccatorum sint: cum cogitatio tacita subrepit, et ex aliqua parte conniventibus nobis, necdum tamen nos impulit ad ruinam... Peccatum vero esse, quum

St Augustine sayeth that *peccatum* is committed of him that sinneth wittingly, and *delictum* of him that sinneth of ignorance[5]. I see that those words are in some places confounded, and that the one is used for the other. In some places the error, or *delictum*, is used as the milder term; *peccatum*, in a more grievous sense; and an heinous crime, a mischief, a revolting or wickedness, for the greatest of all[6]. For St Augustine saith: "Neither is every *peccatum crimen*[7], because every *crimen* is *peccatum*." Therefore we say, that the life of a man[8] living in this transitory world may be found to be without that heinous offence, *crimen*, for which all the world doth cry out upon and accuse him[9]: but "if we say we have *nullum peccatum*, no sin," (as the apostle saith,) [1 John i. 8.] "we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us." Among the Hebrews sin is called by sundry names, which do import and signify overthwartness, perverseness, a fault, an error, a revolting, infirmity, vice, ignorance, and transgression. For to transgress doth signify to depart from the truth[10], from our duty or office, not to keep the right path, but to turn away from the prescript rule of the law of God. Now that rule, or law of God, is of the Hebrews called *Thora*, that is to say, a direction, or a leading by the hand[11]; for it doth direct a man in the ways that are acceptable to the Lord: and therefore the Greeks call sin by the names of *ἀνομία καὶ παρανομία*. Again, in the Hebrew tongue, sin is as much to say as a turning away from good to evil; also a revolting, as when thou drawest thy neck from out of the yoke of his power to whom thou art a servant: finally, it signifieth the crime or guilt whereby we endanger ourselves to the rod of punishment.

quid opere consummatum pervenit ad finem.—Hieron. Comment. in Ep. ad Ephes. cap. 2, Tom. IV. col. 338, Par. 1706.]

[5 Potest etiam videri illud esse delictum quod imprudenter, id est, ignoranter; illud peccatum quod ab sciente committitur.—Aug. Quæst. sup. Levit. cap. 20, Opp. Tom. IV. fol. 43, col. 2, Par. 1531.]

[6 Crimen vero, scelus, defectionem et impietatem multo gravissimam, Lat.; but *crimen* for heinous wickedness, &c.]

[7 Neque enim quia peccatum est omne crimen, ideo crimen est etiam omne peccatum.—Aug. Enchir. ad Laurent. cap. 64, Opp. Tom. III. fol. 37, col. 4.]

[8 sanctorum hominum, Lat.; of saints.]

[9 for which—accuse him, added by the translator.]

[10 a recto, Lat.] [11 See Decade I. Serm. I. p. 49.]

The definition of sin.

Verily St Augustine taketh much pains to find out a proper definition of sin. In his second book *De Consensu Evangelistarum* he saith: "Sin is the transgression of the law[1]." *Ad Simplicianum*, Lib. I.: "Sin is an inordinateness or perverseness of man; that is, a turning from the more excellent Creator, and a turning to the inferior creatures[2]." *De Fide contra Manichæos*, cap. 8, he saith: "What is it else to sin, but to err in the precepts of truth, or in the truth itself[3]?" Again, *Contra Faustum Manichæum*, Lib. XXII. cap. 27: "Sin is a deed, a word, or a wish, against the law of God[4]." The same Augustine, *De duabus animabus contra Manichæos*, cap. 11, saith: "Sin is a will to retain or obtain that which justice forbiddeth, and is not free to abstain[5]." And *In Retract.* Lib. I. cap. 15, he saith: "That will is a motion of the mind, without compulsion, either not to lose or else to obtain some one thing or other[6]."

All which definitions as I do not utterly reject, so do I wish this to be considered and thought of with the rest: Sin is the natural corruption of mankind, and the action which ariseth of it contrary to the law of God, whose wrath, that is, both death and sundry punishments, it bringeth upon us. Thou hearest how well this definition doth consist upon his parts. Thou hearest in it of our natural corruption; in the naming whereof appeareth, how this definition

[1 Porro peccatum est legis transgressio.—Aug. de Consens. Evang. Lib. II. cap. 4, Tom. IV. fol. 85, col. 4.]

[2 Est autem peccatum hominis inordinatio atque perversitas; id est, a præstantiore conditore aversio, et ad condita inferiora conversio. —Id. ad Simplic. Lib. I. Tom. IV. fol. 135, col. 3.]

[3 Peccare enim quid aliud est, nisi in veritatis præceptis, vel in ipsa errare veritate?—Id. de Fide con. Manich. cap. 8, Tom. VI. fol. 117, col. 4.]

[4 Ergo peccatum est factum, vel dictum, vel concupitum aliquid contra æternam legem.—Id. cont. Faust. Manich. Lib. XXII. cap. 27, Tom. VI. fol. 84. col. 1.]

[5 Ergo peccatum est voluntas retinendi vel consequendi quod justitia vetat, et unde (Bullinger reads, *et non*, probably by mistaking the abbreviation in old copies *et un.*) liberum est abstinere —Id. de duab. anim. cont. Manich. cap. 11, Tom. VI. fol. 32, col. 2.]

[6 Ipsam voluntatem definivi dicens: Voluntas est animi motus, cogente nullo, ad aliquid vel non amittendum vel adipiscendum.—Id. Retract. Lib. I. cap. 15, Tom. I. fol. 5, col. 3.]

doth not agree to the sin of our first parents, in whom there was no natural corruption: of which I mean to speak in place convenient. Thou hearest the action named, which ariseth of the natural corruption, and is repugnant to the law of God. Thou hearest that sin doth bring upon us the wrath of God, that is, death and sundry sorts of punishments appointed by the mouth of God to plague us for our sins. Of which I will speak in order as they lie, so far forth as the Lord shall give me grace and ability.

The cause or beginning of sin.

Now therefore it seemeth that this treatise may most aptly be begun at the discussing of the original cause and beginning[7] of sin. Some there be that do derive the original cause of evil or sin from the influence of the planets, saying, "I sinned, because I was born under an unlucky planet." Other there are, which, when they sin and are rebuked for it, do make this answer: "Not I, but the devil is in fault, that I have committed this grievous crime." And sometime, laying aside all excuses, they[8] do directly cast the blame upon God, and say: "Why, God would that it should be so; for if he would not have had it so, I had not sinned." Another saith: "Since God could have letted it, and would not, he is the cause and author of my sin." But it is no new thing now that men do whet their blasphemous tongues against God, the maker and ruler of all things; for our first parents, when they had sinned and were accused of it by God himself, found a shift for to translate the sin, which they committed, from themselves to other, and would not confess the truth as it was in very deed. Such is the abominable wickedness of man. For Adam, as it were, answering God overthwartly, casteth the fault of his offence, not only[9] upon his wife which God had coupled unto him, but also upon God himself. "The woman," [Gen. iii. 12.] saith he, "whom thou gavest to be with me, gave me of the tree[10], and I did eat." As if he should have said: If thou hadst not given me the woman, I had not sinned. But the Lord coupled him to a wife, not to the end that she should be an occasion of evil, but that the man might be in

[7 et auctore, Lat. omitted; and author.]

[8 homines, Lat.; men.]

[9 non tam—quam, Lat.; not so much upon his wife, as upon God.]

[10 dedit mihi pomum, Lat.; gave me the apple.]

the better case and condition. Again, the woman doth simply impute the cause of that evil unto the devil, saying: "The serpent beguiled me, and I did eat." Lo, these are most corrupt, false, wicked, and detestable opinions touching the original cause of sin, wherewith the justice and truth of God is mightily offended. Neither is the nature of man the cause of sin. For God, which created all things, did also create the nature of man, and made it good, even as all things else which he created were also good[1]. Therefore the nature of man was good. For it is an accidental quality that happened to man either in, or immediately after, his fall, and not a substantial property, to have his nature so spotted with corruption as now it is[2]. Now we, being born in sin of sinful progenitors, have sin by descent as our natural property; for St Augustine, writing, *De Fide contra Manichæos*, cap. 9, saith: "And if we say that any men are evil by nature, we mean, that they are so because of the original descent of our first parents' sin, wherein we mortal men are wholly born[3]." But this now requireth a more exact and ample declaration.

The nature of man is not the cause of sin.

That the devil alone is not the author of sin, so that, when we sin, the blame thereof should redound to him, and we that sinned escape without fault, this doth greatly argue; because it is in his power to egg and persuade, but not to enforce a man to do evil. For God by his power restraineth the devil from being able to do the thing that he would do: he can do no more than God permitteth him to do. For if he had no power over an herd of filthy swine, how much less authority hath he over the excellent souls of God's most excellent creatures! He hath, I confess, great subtilties, and more than rhetorical force, wherewith to persuade us: but God is stronger, and never ceaseth to prompt good and wholesome counsels unto the souls of his faithful servants. Neither doth he permit more to Satan than is for our commodity: as is to be seen in the example of that holy man, the patient Job; and

The devil alone is not the cause of sin.

[1 valde bona, Lat.; very good.]

[2 mox ab initio talis qualis nunc est indita, Lat.; which is even from the first imparted so as it now is.]

[3 Sed et si aliquos naturaliter dicimus malos, propter originem veteris peccati dicimus, in quo jam nostra mortalitas nascitur.—August. de Fide cont. Manich. cap. 9, Opp. Tom. VI. fol. 117, col. 4.]

also in the example of Paul, 2 Cor. xii., and in his words, saying, "God is faithful, which will not suffer us to be tempted above that we are able to bear[4]." They therefore are vainly seduced, which cast the fault of their sin upon the devil's shoulders.

That destiny is not the cause of sin.

To proceed: if thou demandest of them which lay the blame of their sin upon their evil destiny, what destiny is? they will answer, either that it is a course knit together by eternity and linked to itself, as it were a certain chain and continual row of counsels and works necessarily following one upon another's neck according to the disposition and ordinance of God; or else that it is the evil stars or planets. Now, if thou demandest again, who made the stars? they have none other answer but God: it followeth therefore, consequently, that they enforce the cause of their sin upon God himself. But all the ancient and best philosophers did never pretend or allege destiny, much less such Christians as did freely confess the mighty power of their God and Maker[5]. And even among our men, I mean, among them that would seem to be Christians, they which stood in the opinion of destiny and constellations, were such kind of fellows as wise men would be ashamed to follow them as authors. Bardesanes[6] imputed to destiny the conversations of mortal men. And the Priscillianists, who were condemned in the first council held at Toledo, thought and taught that man is tied to fatal stars, and hath his body compact according to the twelve signs in heaven, placing Aries in the head, Taurus in the neck, and so consequently to every sign his several limbs[7]. St

[4 1 Cor. x. 13, vos—potestis, Lat.]

[5 as did—maker, not in Lat.]

[6 Bardesanes was a Syrian, of Edessa, and lived in the second century of the Christian era. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Lib. IV. cap. 30. Mosheim, Eccles. Hist. Book I. cent. 2, part 2, chap. 5, § 8.]

[7 Astruunt etiam (Priscillianistæ) fatalibus stellis homines colligatos, ipsumque corpus nostrum secundum duodecim signa cœli esse compositum, sicut hi qui mathematici vulgo appellantur: constituentes in capite arietem, taurum in cervice, geminos in humeris, cancrum in pectore; et cetera nominatim signa percurrentes, ad plantas usque perveniunt, &c.—August. de Hæres. cap. 70, Opp. Tom. VI. fol. 6, col. 4. Priscillian lived in the middle of the fourth century, in Spain. Mosheim, Eccles. Hist. Book II. Cent. 4, part 2, chap. 5, §§ 21, 22.—The first council of Toledo was held A.D. 405.]

Against destiny.

Augustine, *In opusculo* LXXXIII. *quæstionum, Quæst.* 45, confuting soundly the destinies of planets, among other his reasons saith: "The conceiving of twins in the mother's womb, because it is made in one and the same act, as the physicians testify (whose discipline is far more certain and manifest than that of the astrologers), doth happen in so small a moment of time, that there is not so much time as two minutes of a minute betwixt the conceiving of the one and the other. How therefore cometh it, that in twins of one burden there is so great a diversity of deeds, wills, and chances, considering that they of necessity must needs have one and the same planet in their conception, and that the mathematicals do give the constellation of them both as if it were but of one man[1]?" To these words of St Augustine great light may be added, if you annex to them and examine narrowly the example of Esau and Jacob's birth and sundry dispositions. The same Augustine, writing to Boniface against two epistles of the Pelagians, Lib. II. cap. 6, saith: "They which affirm that destiny doth rule, will have not only our deeds and events, but also our very wills, to depend upon the placing of the stars at the time wherein every man is either conceived or born, which placing they are wont to call constellations. But the grace of God doth not only go above all stars and heavens, but also above the very angels themselves. Moreover these disputers for destiny do attribute to destiny both the good and evil that happen to men. But God, in the evils that fall upon men, doth duly and worthily recompense them for their ill deserts: but the good, which they have, he doth bestow upon them not for their merits, but of his own favour and merciful goodness through grace, that cannot be looked for of duty; laying both good and evil upon us men not through the temporal course of planets, but by the deed and eternal counsel of his severity and goodness. So then we see that neither the falling out of

[1 Conceptus autem geminorum, quoniam uno concubitu efficitur attestantibus medicis, quorum disciplina multo est certior atque manifestior, tam parvo puncto temporis contingit, ut in duas minutas minutarum non tendatur. Unde ergo in geminis tanta diversitas actionum et eventuum et voluntatum, quos necesse est eandem constellationem conceptionalem habere, et amborum unam constellationem dare mathematicos, tanquam unius hominis?—Lib. de divers. quæst. 83. quæst. 45, Tom. IV. fol. 116, col. 4.]

good or evil hath any relation unto the planets[2]." Therefore this place may be concluded with the words of the Lord in the prophet Jeremy, saying: "Thus saith the Lord, Ye shall not learn after the manner of the heathen, and ye shall not be afraid for the tokens of heaven; for the heathen are afraid of such. Yea, all the observations of the Gentiles are vanity[3]." For the planets have no force to do either good or evil. And therefore the blame of sins is not to be imputed thereunto. [Jer. x. 2, 3.]

I have now to prove unto you, that God is not the cause of sin, or the author of evil. "God," say they, "would have it so. For if he would not have had it so, I had not sinned; for who may resist his power?" Again, "Since he could have letted it, and would not, he is the author of my sin and wickedness." As though we knew not the crafty quarrels and subtle shifts of mortal men. Who, I pray you, knoweth not, that God doth not deal with us by his absolute power, but by an appointed law and ordinance; I mean, by commodious means and a probable order[4]? God could, I know, by his absolute power keep off all evil; but yet he neither can nor will either corrupt or mar his creature and excellent order. He dealeth with us men therefore after the manner of men: he appointeth us laws, and layeth before us rewards and punishments: he commandeth to embrace the good and eschew the evil; to the performing whereof he doth neither deny us his grace, without which we can do nothing; neither God is not the author of evil.

[2 Fatum quippe qui affirmant, de siderum positione ad tempus quo concipitur quisque vel nascitur, quas constellationes vocant, non solum actus et eventa, verum etiam ipsas nostras voluntates, pendere contendunt. Dei vero gratia non solum omnia sidera et omnes cœlos, verum etiam omnes angelos supergreditur. Deinde fati assertores et bona et mala hominum fato tribuunt: Deus autem in malis hominum merita eorum debita retributione persequitur, bona vero per indebitam gratiam misericordi voluntate largitur; utrumque faciens non per stellarum temporale consortium, sed per suæ severitatis et bonitatis æternum altumque consilium. Neutrum ergo pertinere videmus ad fatum.—Id. cont. duas epist. Pelag. ad Bonifac. Lib. II. cap. 6, Tom. VII. fol. 182, col. 2.]

[3 Ergo quod sidus Saturni inclemens et asperum vel crudele, Veneris benignum et mite ab astrologis appellatur, vanitas est vanitatum, omitted; therefore, that the star of Saturn is called by astrologers unkind and harsh or cruel, and the star of Venus kindly and mild, is vanity of vanities.]

[4 legitimo, Lat.]

doth he despise our diligent good-will and earnest travail. Herein if man be slack, the negligence and fault is imputed to man himself, and not to God, although he could have kept off the sin[1], and did not; for it was not his duty to keep it off, lest peradventure he should disturb the order and destroy the work which he himself had made and ordained. Therefore God is not the author of sin or naughtiness. Touching which matter I will first add some[2] testimonies of the holy scripture; then answer to sundry objections of the adversaries of this doctrine; and lastly declare the original cause or head-spring of sin and wickedness.

God being good himself created all things good which he created.

The testimonies which teach that God is not the author of sin or naughtiness are many in number: but among the rest this is an argument of greatest force and probability, because God is said to be good naturally; and that all which he created were made good[3] in their creation. Whereupon it is that Solomon[4] saith: "God hath not made death; neither hath he delight in the destruction of the living: for he created all things, that they might have their being; and the beginnings of the world were healthful; and there is no poison of destruction in them, nor the kingdom of hell upon the earth: for righteousness is immortal, (but unrighteousness bringeth death[5]:) and the ungodly call it to them both with words and works, and thereby come to nought:" and so forth, as is to be seen in the first chapter of the book of Wisdom; which words do passingly agree with the first chapter[6] of that most excellent prophet Moses.

[Wisd. i. 13—16.]

In the fifth psalm David saith: "Thou art the God that hast no pleasure in wickedness: neither shall any evil dwell with thee. The unjust shall not stand in thy sight: for thou hatest all them that work iniquity. Thou shalt destroy them that speak leasing: the Lord doth abhor both the bloodthirsty and deceitful man." Lo, thou canst devise nothing more contrary to the nature of God than sin and naughtiness: as

[1 potentia sua, Lat. omitted; by his power.]

[2 clara, Lat. omitted; clear.] [3 valde bona, Lat.]

[4 sapiens ille, Lat.; the wise man. Bullinger says *not* Solomon. Cf. Vol. I. p. 225, note 12.]

[5 This parenthesis is not in Bullinger's Latin, nor in the Septuagint, nor Vulgate, nor Auth. Ver.; but it is in Coverdale's Bible, 1535.]

[6 cum primis capitibus, Lat.]

thou mayest more at large perceive in the thirty-fourth chapter of the book of Job.

The wise man saith: "God created man good; but they sought out many inventions of their own." And therefore the apostle Paul[7] deriveth sin, damnation, and death, not from God, but from Adam; and from God he fetcheth grace, forgiveness, and life, through the mediator Jesus Christ. That place of Paul is far more manifest than that it needeth any large exposition: let it not only be considered and[8] diligently weighed of the readers and hearers; whom I would wish always to bear in mouth and mind the very words and meaning of this notable sentence[9]: "Even as by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin:" and so forth as followeth. [Eccles. vii. 29.]

The same apostle in the seventh to the Romans doth evidently declare that the law is holy, the commandment good and just; and thereby he doth insinuate, that in God or in his will there is not, and in his law, which is the will of God, there springeth not, any spot or blur of sin or naughtiness. In our flesh, saith he, the evil lurketh, and out of us iniquity ariseth. "I know," saith he, "that in me, that is in my flesh, there is no good." In that chapter there are many sentences to be found which do wonderfully confirm this argument.

Again, in the third to the Romans the same apostle saith: "If our unrighteousness setteth forth the righteousness of God, what shall we say? Is God unrighteous which taketh vengeance? (I speak after the manner of men;" that is, I use the words of wicked people;) "God forbid: for how then shall God judge the world? For if the truth of God hath more abounded through my lie unto his glory; why am I as yet judged as a sinner?" &c. Verily, if God were the author of sin and all evil, and that he would have the wicked to be such as in very deed they are, then why, I pray you, should he judge or punish them as transgressors, since they by sinning fulfilled his will? Rom. iii.

[7 ad Roma. 5 cap., Lat.]

[8 rather, but:—But ed. 1577 has, let it only be considered and diligently, &c.]

[9 The translator has here paraphrased Bullinger's one word, *Recita.*]

To this place also doth belong that testimony of the blessed evangelist and apostle John, in his canonical epistle, where he saith: "If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him. For all that is in the world, as the lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life, is not of the Father, but of the world. And the world passeth away, and the lust thereof: but he that fulfilleth the will of the Father[1] abideth for ever." Lo here, God is utterly free from all evil: evil, saith he, is not of the Father, but of the world. And he which doeth the will of the Father[1] doeth not what the world will, but what God will. Therefore these two, good and evil, sin and the will of God, are directly opposed and repugnant the one against the other. These testimonies, though few in number, are notwithstanding, in my judgment, sufficiently significant and able to persuade a godly-disposed hearer.

[1 John ii. 15—17.]

Now upon this we do first infer a conclusion, and boldly warrant that point of Catholic doctrine, which hath ever since the apostles' time always been defended with much diligence against the unpure philosophy of some, (although yet I do not utterly condemn all the parts of philosophy, knowing very well that some points thereof are very necessary and profitable to the zealous lovers of God and godliness,) that God is not the author of evil, or cause of sin. Then out of the same testimonies we gather, that the original cause of sin or evil is derived of man himself, and his suggester and provoker, the devil: so yet that we say, that the devil, being first himself corrupted, did corrupt man, being nevertheless not able of himself to have done anything, had not man of his own accord consented unto evil.

The true cause of sin or evil.

And here we must set before our eyes the fall of our first father Adam, that by the consideration thereof we may be the better able to judge of the original cause of sin and iniquity.

God created Adam, the first father of us all, according to his own similitude and likeness; that is to say, he made him good, most pure, most holy, most just, and immortal, and adorned him with every excellent gift and faculty, so that there was nothing wanting to him in God, which was available to perfect felicity. Touching this similitude or

[1 Dei, Lat.]

likeness to God I shall take occasion upon the words of Paul to speak hereafter. So then he was endued with a very divine, pure, and sharp understanding. His will was free, without constraint, and absolutely holy: he had power to do either good or evil. Moreover God gave him a law, which might instruct him what to do and what to leave undone. For God in saying, "Thou shalt not eat of the [Gen. iii. 3.] fruit of the tree of knowledge of good and evil," did simply require at his hands faith and obedience, and that he should wholly depend upon God: all which he had to do, not by compulsion or necessity, but of his own accord and free good-will. For very truly and holily writ the wise man in the fifteenth of Ecclesiasticus[2], saying: "God made man in the beginning, and left him in the hand of his counsel. He gave him his commandments and precepts: if thou wilt, thou shalt keep my commandments, and they shall preserve thee."

Therefore, when the serpent tempted the mind of man, and did persuade him to taste of the forbidden tree, man knew well enough what peril was laid before him, and how the serpent's counsel was flatly repugnant to the Lord's commandment. In the mean time neither did God compel him, nor Satan in the serpent enforce him to sin, while he resisted and did withstand him. For God had said: "Ye shall not eat of that tree, nor touch it: if ye do, ye shall die for it." Therefore he was at his own free choice, and in the hand of his own counsel, either to eat or not to eat: yea, God declared his mind unto him in giving precise commandment, that he should not eat; and to the commandment he annexed the danger of the breach thereof, withdrawing him thereby from the eating of the fruit, and saying, "Lest perhaps thou die." And as Satan could not, so also he did not, shew any violence, but used such probable words to counsel him as he could, and did indeed at length persuade him. For when the woman's will gave ear to the word of the devil, her mind departed from the word of God; whereby she rejected the good law of God, did of her own perverse will commit that sin, and drew her husband that yielded of his own accord into the fellowship of the same offence: as the scripture doth most significantly express in these words:

[2 verses 14—16, according to the Vulgate. Our Authorised Version is a little different, following the Greek LXX.]

"And the woman, seeing that the tree was good to eat of, and pleasant to the eyes, and a tree to be desired to make one wise[1], took of the fruit thereof, and did eat, and gave to her husband with her, and he did eat also." Lo, here thou hast the beginning of evil, the devil: thou hast heard what it was that moved the mind or will of man unto that evil, to wit, the false persuasion of the devil, or his subtle praise of the fruit of the tree, and so consequently a mere lie; and the pleasant shew of the delicate tree. But that which our first parents did, they did of their own accord and free good will, being led by hope to obtain a more excellent life and profounder wisdom, which the seducer had falsely promised them. We do therefore conclude, that sin doth spring not of God, which hateth and doth prohibit all evil, but of the devil; the[2] free election of our grand-parents and their corrupted will, which was depraved by the devil's lie, and the false shew of feigned good. So then the devil and the yielding or corrupted mind[3] of man are the very causes of sin and naughtiness.

Sin springeth of the devil's suggestion and our corrupt will.

To proceed now: this evil doth by descent flow from our first parents into all their posterity, so that at this day sin doth not spring from elsewhere but of ourselves, that is to say, of our corrupt judgment, depraved will, and the suggestion of the devil. For the root of evil is yet remaining in our flesh by reason of that first corruption: which root bringeth forth a corrupt branch in nature like unto itself: which branch Satan even now, as he hath done always, doth by his sleights, subtilties, and lies, cherish, tend, and tender, as an imp of his own planting; and yet notwithstanding he laboureth in vain, unless we yield ourselves to his hands to be framed as he listeth.

Now therefore, that there may herein appear less doubt or darkness, I will, for confirmation's[4] sake, add two most evident testimonies; the one out of the writings of the evangelists, the other out of the doctrine of the apostles.

John viii. [44.]

The Lord in the gospel saith: "The devil was a murderer from the beginning, and stood not in the truth, because the truth is not in him. When he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own; because he is a liar, and the father

[1 concupiscibile ad contemplandum, Lat.] [2 and the, Lat.]
[3 voluntas, Lat.] [4 et declarandi, Lat.]

of lies." By these[5] words of the Lord we gather, that evil is to be referred to the devil, who, being created in truth and goodness, did not stand fast in truth and goodness, but degenerated from his nature wherein he was made good, and fell[6] into another nature corrupt and wicked, and hath out of himself dispersed all evil (as it appeared by the history of our first parents) into the world; to wit, murder and lies (under which two are comprehended all other evils), of which he is expressly said to be the father, that is, the cause, the author, the well-spring, and beginning: not because he was made such an one of God, but because he stood not fast in the truth. To them therefore that do demand[7], of what beginning Satan came, and whether God made him or no? our answer is, That God indeed made all the angels, and those also which afterward did become reprobates and wicked devils: but we do not therefore say that the cause of evil doth redound to God. For we know that God in the beginning made all the angels good; for all things which he made were good. Furthermore it is said that the devil stood not in the truth; that is, that he revolted from the truth: from which he could not have revolted, if he had never stood in it. Therefore God in the beginning did place all his angels in the truth. He required of them truth, faith or fidelity, and the duty that they ought[8] him: which they were able to have done, if they themselves would. But they did disloyally fall from their allegiance, and sinned, as the apostle Peter testifieth, against [2 Pet. ii. 4.] the Lord; and therefore the fault of their falsehood and of all their naughtiness was not in God, but in the rebellious and revolting angel. For since the time of his fall there is no truth, no fidelity, no integrity, no fear of God, no light or goodness to be found in him. Therefore truly said St John in the canonical epistle: "He that committeth [1 John iii. 8.] sin is of the devil; for the devil sinneth from the beginning." For he is the first sinner, and the beginning of sin. To this also may this note be added[9], that of Peter and John the devil is said to sin. For sin is repugnant to the will of

[5 disertissimis, Lat.; most express.]
[6 sua culpa, Lat. omitted; by his own fault.]
[7 objicientibus, Lat.] [8 i. e. owed.]
[9 in his omnibus illud observabile, Lat.]

God: therefore God would not have had him perish: whereupon, since he perished, it followeth that he perished, not by the fault of God, but by his own fault.

Let us now hear the other testimony concerning the corrupt will of man, which is in very deed the cause of sin. [James i. 13—15.] St James the apostle saith: "Let no man say when he is tempted, I am tempted of God: for God cannot be tempted with evil, neither tempteth he any man. But every man is tempted, when he is drawn away and enticed of his own concupiscence. Then when lust hath conceived, it bringeth forth sin; and sin, when it is finished, bringeth forth death." In these words St James, I hope, doth evidently enough make God to be free from all fault of sin, and doth derive it of us ourselves, shewing by the way the beginning and proceeding of sin. Neither doth James in this place gainsay [Gen. xxii. 1.] the place in Genesis, where Moses said, "God tempted Abraham." For in Moses to tempt doth signify to make a trial or a proof: but in this argument of ours it signifieth to stir or draw to evil, and so to corrupt us. Therefore God, as he cannot, saith he, be tempted of evil; that is to say, as God is by nature good and uncorrupt; so doth he not corrupt, deprave, or defile[1] any man with evil; for that is contrary to the nature of God. From whence then hath sin his beginning? The holy apostle answereth, saying: "Yea, every one is tempted, corrupted, and drawn into evil, while he is withdrawn and enticed with his own concupiscence." Lo here, sin taketh beginning of our concupiscence, and is accomplished and finished by our own work and labour.

Note here, by the way, what a weight and emphasis every one of the apostle's words doth carry with it. For first, he maketh concupiscence our own, or proper to us all, even as the Lord before did say of Satan, "When he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own." Now because concupiscence is our own, therefore sin is our own also. For concupiscence doth withdraw us from that that is true, just, and good, to that which is false, unjust, and evil. The same concupiscence enticeth us, that is, by making a shew of false hope it doth deceive us: as fowlers are wont with meat to entice birds into their nets, which, when they have deceived them, they catch up and kill. What, I pray you, could be

[1 immergit, Lat.]

spoken more plainly? We are by our own concupiscence cast into evil: this concupiscence draweth us from God; it doth entice, and utterly deceive us. And then, having laid the foundation of sin and opened the well-spring from whence it floweth, he doth very properly allude and by an allegory shew us the genealogy, that is, the beginning and proceeding of sin. That concupiscence, saith he, which is proper unto us all, doth, as it were a matrix, conceive sin in us; and immediately after doth bring it forth; to wit, when our lust bursteth out into the act, when we do greedily prosecute that which we lusted after, and, being once obtained, we do enjoy it against the law of God: upon the neck whereof death doth follow without intermission; "for the reward of sin is death."

I have, I trust, by these evident proofs of scripture plainly declared that God is not the cause of evil; but our corruptible[2] will or concupiscence, and the devil, which stirreth, provoketh, and inflameth our depraved nature to sin and wickedness, as he which is the tempter and utter enemy to mankind and his salvation[3].

Objections are answered.

It will not be amiss here to hear the objections of certain cavillers against this doctrine, and to learn how to answer them according to the truth. Some there are which, when they see that we derive sin not of the nature of God but of the corruptible will of man and false suggestion of the devil, do presently object, that God created Adam, and so consequently created sin in Adam[4]. To this we answer; that sin is the corruption of the good nature made by God, and not a creature created by God either in or with man. God created man good: but man, being left to his own counsel, did through the persuasion of Satan, by his own action and depraved will, corrupt the goodness that God created in him: so now that sin is proper to man[5], I mean, man's corrupt action against the law of God, and not a creature created in him of God. To this they reply: But the will and ability that was in Adam, was it from elsewhere than from God himself? Undoubtedly, no; it was from God. Therefore, say they, sin is of God. I deny it; for God gave not to Adam will and power of working, to the end that he

[2] corruptam, Lat.]
[3] omnis boni, Lat.]
[4] in Adam, not in Lat.]
[5] proprium hominis, Lat.]

should work evil; for by express commandment he forbad him to do wickedness. Therefore Adam himself did naughtily apply the will and power, which he received of God, by using them untowardly. The prodigal son received money at his father's hand; whose meaning was, not that he should waste it prodigally with riotous living, but that he might have whereupon to live and supply the want of his necessities. Wherefore when he had lavishly lasht it out, and utterly undone himself, the fault was in himself for abusing it, and not in his father for giving it unto him[1]. Furthermore, to have the power to do good and evil, as Adam had of God, is of itself a thing without fault: even as also to have poison, to bear a weapon, or wear a sword, is a thing that no man can worthily blame. They have in them a force to do good or harm; they are not naught unless they be abused: and he that giveth thee them doth leave to thee the use thereof. If he be a just man, he putteth them into thy hand not to abuse, but to use as equity and right requireth. Wherefore, if thou abusest them, the fault is imputed to thyself, and not to him that gave thee them. Now since God, which gave Adam that will and power, is of himself most absolutely just, it followeth consequently, that he gave them to Adam not to do evil but good: why then is the most just God blamed in such a case as sinful man is without all blame in? We do therefore conclude: because affection in Adam, being moved by sense and egged on by the serpent, did persuade him to eat of the forbidden fruit, when nevertheless his understanding did yet hold the word of God which forbad him to eat; and that his will was at free choice and liberty to incline to whether part it pleased him; he did notwithstanding[2] will and choose that which God had forbidden him; we do therefore, I say, conclude, that sin is properly to be imputed to man which willingly transgressed, and not to God[3] which charged him that he should not sin.

Here again the adversaries ask this question, Why God

[1 sua, non patris, culpa perit, tametsi pecuniam acceperit a patre, Lat.]

[2 in pejorem inclinavit, Lat. omitted; incline to the worse part, and.]

[3 legislatoris, Lat.; not to the lawgiver.]

did create man so frail, that he of his own will might incline to evil: why did he not rather confirm in him the goodness and perfect soundness of nature, that he could not have fallen or sinned? To this the scripture answereth, saying: "What art thou that disputest with God? Woe to him that striveth with his Maker! Woe to him that saith to the father, Why begottest thou? and to the mother, Why broughtest thou forth[4]?" Unless God had made man fallable[5], there had been no praise of his works or virtue; for he could neither have willed nor choosed but of necessity have been good. Yea, what if man ought altogether to be made fallable? For so did the counsel of God require him to be. God giveth not his own glory to any creature. Adam was a man, and not a God. But to be good of necessity is the proper glory of God, and of none but God[6]. And as God is bountiful and liberal, so also is he just: he doth good to men; but will therewithal that men acknowledge him and his benefits, and that they obey him, and be thankful for the same. He had bestowed innumerable benefits upon Adam: there lacked nothing therefore but to give him an occasion to declare and shew his thankfulness and obedience to his good God and benefactor; which occasion he offered him by the making of that law, or giving his commandment. We see therefore that God ordained not that law to be a stumbling-block in Adam's way, but rather to be a staff to stay him from falling: for in the law he declareth what he would have him to do. He sheweth, that he wisheth not the death or destruction of Adam: he teacheth him what to do, that he may escape death and live in felicity and perfect happiness. For which cause also he provided that the law should be a plain and easy commandment: "Of the tree of knowledge of good and evil thou shalt not eat," saith the Lord; "for if thou doest, thou shalt die the death: but of any other tree in the garden thou shalt eat." What else was this, than as if he should have said, Thou shalt in all things have an eye to me; thou shalt stick to me, obey me, be subject unto me, and serve me: neither shalt thou from elsewhere fetch the forms of good and evil than of me; and

Why God created man so fickle that he should fall.

To what end God gave the law to Adam.

[4 Rom. ix. 20. Isai. xlv. 9, 10. Coverdale's Bible, 1535, also has *Why*. Bullinger's Latin is *Quid*.]

[5 i. e. liable to fall; labilis, Lat.]

[6 But to be—but God, the translator's addition.]

in so doing thou shalt shew thyself obedient and thankful unto me thy Maker? Did God in this desire any unjust thing, or more than he should, at the hands of Adam? He shewed him the tree as a sacrament or[1] sign of that which he enjoined him by the giving of the law; to wit, that the tree might be a token to put him in memory that he ought to obey the Lord alone, as a wise, bountiful, excellent, and greatest God and Maker. And what difficulty, I pray you, or darkness was there herein? St Augustine is of the same opinion with us, who in his book *De Natura Boni adversus Manichæos*, cap. 35, saith: "He did therefore forbid it, that he might shew that the nature of the reasonable soul ought to be, not in man's own power, but in subjection unto God; and that by obedience it keepeth the order of her salvation, which by disobedience it doth corrupt and mar. And hereupon it cometh, that he called the tree, which he forbad, by the name of the tree of knowledge of good and evil; because Adam, if he touched it against the Lord's commandment, should by trial feel the punishment of his sin, and by that means know what difference there was betwixt the good that followeth obedience and the evil which ensueth the sin of disobedience[2]." Now therefore, when the serpent was crept in and began to tell man of other forms of good and evil directly contrary to the law of God, and that man had once received them as things both true and credible[3], he did disloyally revolt from God, and by his own fault through disobedience he wrought his own destruction. Therefore God did always deal justly with him; and man contrarily dealt too too unjustly, and was utterly unthankful, howsoever men will go about to cloak or not to hear of his unthankful stubbornness[4].

[1 a sacrament or, not in Lat.]

[2 Ad hoc enim prohibuerat, ut ostenderet naturam animæ rationalis, non in sua potestate, sed Deo subditam esse debere, et ordinem suæ salutis per obedientiam custodire, per inobedientiam corrumpere. Hinc et arborem quam tangi vetuit sic appellavit, dignoscentiæ boni et mali: qui, cum eam contra vetitum tetigisset, experiretur pœnam peccati, et eo modo dignosceret, quid interesset inter obedientiæ bonum et inter inobedientiæ malum.—August. de Nat. Boni adv. Manich. Opp. Tom. VI. fol. 115, col. 4, Par. 1531.]

[3 as—credible, not in Lat.]

[4 howsoever—stubbornness: utcunque rem æstimes, Lat.]

But whereas we say that man was made fallable, we will not have it to be so understood, that any man should think that there was in Adam any one jot or prick of infirmity before his fall; for as he was in all points most absolutely perfect, so was he in no point created so frail that he should sin or perish by death. For God, which is one in substance and three in persons, said: "Let us make man in our image, after our own likeness." Note here, that *Zælæm* doth signify the picture or counterfeit of another thing, and that *Demuth* importeth the very pattern whereby any picture is drawn or image portrayed[5]. Therefore in God is the example or pattern, to the resemblance whereof there was a picture or similitude framed: but that representing likeness cannot be this body of ours; for God is a Spirit, in no point like to the nature of dust and ashes[6]: we must of necessity therefore resemble the image of God to spiritual things, as to immortality, truth, justice, and holiness. For so hath the apostle Paul taught us, where he saith, "Be ye renewed in the spirit of your mind; and put on that new man, which after God is shapen in righteousness and holiness of truth[7]." Wherefore there was no want in our grandfather Adam of any thing that was available to absolute perfectness: so that even a blind man may perceive, that man was not created to death and destruction, but unto life, felicity, and absolute blessedness.

There was no corruption or infirmity in Adam before his fall.

The image of God.

But, say they, God did foreknow the fall of man, which, if he would, he could have withstood: now, since he could and would not, God is to be blamed because Adam sinned. It is a goodly matter indeed[8], when, all fear of God being laid aside, men will at their pleasure fall flatly on railing against the majesty of God almighty. I answered in the beginning of this discourse to this objection; and yet this I add here moreover, that upon God's foreknowledge there followeth no necessity, so that Adam did of necessity sin because God did foreknow that he would sin. A prudent father doth foresee, by some untoward tokens, that his son will one day

God did foreknow the fall of man.

[5 דמות is more than צלם: this expresses the *general form or delineation;* that, the *conformity* or *resemblance of the parts.* Parkhurst, Heb. Lex. in voc. דמה.]

[6 Iuti, is Bullinger's *one* word.]

[7 Eph. iv. 23, 24. Marg. Auth. Ver.]

[8 egregia censebitur disputatio, Lat.]

come to an ill ending[1]: neither is he deceived in his foresight; for he is slain, being taken in adultery. But he is not therefore slain, because his father foresaw that he would be slain; but because he was an adulterer. And therefore St Ambrose, or whosoever it is that was author of the second book *De Gentium Vocatione*, cap. 4, speaking of the murder which Cain committed, saith: "God verily did foreknow to what end the fury of the mad man would come. And yet, because God's foreknowledge could not be deceived, it doth not thereupon follow, that necessity of sinning did urge the crime upon him[2]," &c. And St Augustine, *De Libero Arbitrio*, Lib. XIII. cap. 4, saith: "As thou by thy memory dost not compel those things to be done that are gone and past, so God by his foreknowledge doth not compel those things to be done which are to come. And as thou rememberest some things that thou hast done, and yet hast not done all things which thou rememberest; so God foreknoweth all things which he doth, and yet doth not all which he foreknoweth. But God is a just revenger of that whereof he is no evil author[3]." And so forth.

An objection. Like unto this is another objection, which they make that say: God did before all beginnings determine with himself to deliver mankind from bondage: therefore it could not otherwise be, but that we should first be tangled in bondage: therefore it behoved us to be drowned in sin, that by that means the glory of God might shine more clearly; as the [Rom. v. 20.] apostle said, "Where sin was plenteous, there was grace more plenteous." But it is marvel that these cavillers do not better consider, that God of himself, without us, is sufficient to himself unto absolute blessedness and most perfect felicity; and that his glory could (as it doth) of itself reach above all

[1 perimendum gladio, Lat.]

[2 Et utique præsciebat Deus ad quem finem insanientis esset progressura conceptio. Neque ex eo, quod falli scientia divina non poterat, necessitate peccandi urgebatur facinus voluntatis.—De Vocat. Gent. Lib. II. cap. 4, col. 540, Ambros. Opp. Tom. IV. Par. 1614.]

[3 Sicut enim tu in memoria tua non cogis facta esse, quæ præterierunt; sic Deus præscientia sua non cogit facienda quæ futura sunt. Et sicut tu quædam quæ fecisti meministi, nec tamen quæ meministi omnia fecisti; ita Deus omnia quorum ipse auctor est præscit, nec tamen omnium quæ præscit ipse auctor est. Quorum autem non est malus auctor, justus est ultor.—August. de Lib. Arbit. Lib. III. cap. 4, Tom. I. fol. 141, col. 3, Par. 1531.]

heavens, although there had never been any creature brought into light. Is not God without beginning? But we his creatures had a beginning. God is glorious from before all beginnings: therefore he is glorious without us: and his glory would be as great as it is, though we were not[4]. But what dullard is so foolish as to think, that that eternal light of God doth draw any brightness of glory at our darkness, or out of the stinking dungeon[5] of our sin and wickedness? Should God's glory be no glory, if it were not for our sins? The wise man in Ecclesiasticus saith: "Say not thou, It is the Lord's fault that I have sinned: for thou shalt not do the thing that God hateth. Say not thou, He hath caused me to do wrong; for he hath no need of the sinner:" or, for the wicked are not needful unto him. "God hateth all abomination of error; and they that worship God will love none such." Why therefore do we not change our manner of reasoning, and so consider of the matter as it is in very deed? God, of his eternal goodness and liberality, whereby he wisheth himself to be parted[6] among us all to our felicity, did from everlasting determine to create man to his own similitude and likeness: but for because he did foresee that he would fall headlong into a filthy and miserable bondage, he did therefore by the same his grace and goodness ordain a deliverer to bring us out of thraldom; to the end that so he might communicate himself unto us, that we might praise his gracious favour, and render thanks to his fatherly[7] goodness. And so, whatsoever we men have sinned and turned to our own destruction, that same doth God convert again to our commodity and salvation: even as he is read to have done in the case of Joseph and his brethren; which is, as it were, a certain type of spiritual things[8] and cases of salvation. And we must wholly endeavour ourselves to do what we may in reasoning of this argument so to turn it, that all glory may be given to God alone, and to us nothing else but silence in the sight of God[9].

[Eccius. xv. 11—13.]

[4 and his glory—were not, the translator's addition.]

[5 a putore illo, Lat.]

[6 distrahi quasi, Lat.; as it were parted.]

[7 fatherly, not in Lat.]

[8 harum rerum, Lat.; of these things. The rest is the translator's paraphrase.]

[9 confusio faciei, Lat. Dan. ix. 8. in—God, not in Lat.]

Now last of all, there are yet behind some places of scripture, which must by the way be run through and expounded. The apostle[1], verily, saith: "God gave them up to a reprobate sense." But this kind of giving over is, as Augustine also saith[2], a work of judgment and justice; for they were worthy to be given up unto a reprobate sense. The cause is prefixed in the words of the apostle: for God had made himself manifest unto them; but they were not only unthankful towards him, but waxed wise also in their own conceits, and went about to obtrude unto him I wot not what manner of religion and worship. Therefore, that they might by proof see that they were fools and ungodly, God gave them up unto filthy lusts. In like manner king Amazias would not give ear and hearken to the Lord, because God had determined to punish his iniquities; as is to be read in the fourth book of Kings, the fourteenth chapter, and second Paralipom. twenty-fifth chapter. Likewise did the Lord put the spirit of error into the mouths of the false prophets, and they seduced Egypt: Esay nineteen. So also did a seducing spirit[3] go out from the Lord of judgment, and was a lying spirit in the mouth of all the prophets: as is to be seen in the last chapter of the third book of Kings. Now the Lord doth all these things with just and holy judgment.

[Rom. i. 28.] How God giveth men over to a reprobate sense.

God is said to make men blind.

Again, God is said to blind men's eyes, so often as he doth revoke, or take away, the contemned light of his truth and sincerity, leaving them that delight in darkness to walk and stick in their darkness still. For then the Lord permitteth his words to be preached to the unthankful and ungodly receivers unto their judgment or condemnation; for so, verily, doth the evangelical and apostolical doctrine teach us to think. "This," saith the Lord, "is condemnation," or, this is judgment, "that" the Son of God, the very true "light, came into the world, and the world loved darkness more than light." And Paul said: "If yet the gospel[4] be hid, it is hid in them that perish: in whom the God of this world hath blinded the senses of the unbelievers," &c.

[John iii. 19.]

[2 Cor. iv. 3, 4.]

[1 Paulus, Lat. omitted.]

[2 Augustine treats of these words of St Paul in Psalm lvii. enarr. Opp. Tom. VIII. fol. 121, col. 2, and argues that these sins of the heathen are just punishments from God.]

[3 vel cacodæmon, Lat.]

[4 evangelium nostrum, Lat.]

In the same sense God is said to harden man. For when the Lord calleth man and he resisteth, making himself unworthy of the kingdom of heaven, he doth then permit him unto himself: that is, he leaveth man unto his own corrupt nature, according unto which the heart of man is stony, which is mollified and made tractable by the only grace of God: therefore the withdrawing of God's grace is the hardening of man's heart; and when we are left unto ourselves, then are we hardened. Pharao, king of Egypt, did by his murdering of the Israelitish infants, by his tyranny, and many other vices horribly committed against the law of nature, offend the eyes of God's most just and heavenly majesty: therefore it is no marvel that he hardened his heart. But if any man will not admit or receive this exposition, yet can he not deny that God in the scriptures doth use our kinds of phrases and manner of speeches. Now we are wont to say, This father doth by too much cockering or over gentle dealing mar or harden his son[5], he maketh him stubborn and stiff-necked; and yet the father doth not tender[6] him to destroy, but to save him: the son indeed by the abuse of his father's clemency doth both destroy and harden himself. Therefore whereas the son is hardened, that cometh by his own and not his father's fault, although the father bear the name to have hardened him, or made him past grace[7]. And verily, if thou dost diligently consider the history of Pharao[8], thou shalt oftener than once find this sentence repeated there: "And God hardened Pharao's heart," namely, when some benefit or delivery from evil was wrought before: as though the scripture should have said, By this benefit of delivering him from evil did God harden the heart of Pharao, while he abused the goodness of God, and supposed that all things would be afterwards out of peril and danger, because God had taken away this present punishment and did begin to do him good. And yet I confess, that God, before he had benefited, or laid any punishments upon, Egypt, did immediately upon the calling of Moses say: "I know that the king of Egypt will not let you depart;" and again: "See that thou do all these signs and

To harden.

God hardened Pharao's heart.

[Exod. iii. 19; iv. 21.]

[5 Macht in halsztarck, omitted, but interpreted, by the translator.]
[6 non ideo indulget, Lat.]
[7 or—grace, the translator's addition.]
[8 in Exodo, Lat. omitted.]

wonders, which I have put in thy hand, before Pharao: but I will harden Pharao's heart, that he shall not let the people go." But these sayings do not tend hereunto, that we should make God the author of all Pharao's falsehood, rebellion, and stubborn dealing against the Lord; but rather they were spoken to the comfort and confirmation of Moses, who is therefore so premonished, that, when he dealeth earnestly with the king and yet cannot obtain his suit, he should notwithstanding know that he had God's business in hand, and that God by his long sufferance is the cause of that delay[1], when as notwithstanding at the last he would temper all things to his own honour and glory. The case, by a similitude, is all one as if an householder should send his servant to his debtors, saying: Go thy way, and demand my debts; but yet I know that thou shalt receive none of them; for I by my sufferance and gentle dealing will cause them to be the slacker to pay it: but yet do thou thy duty; and I in the meanwhile will see what is needful to be done.

To this may be added, that even in those very chapters where it is so often said, "God hardened Pharao's heart," this also is afterward annexed, which layeth the hardening of Pharao's heart upon Pharao's own head, saying, "He hardened his heart, and hearkened not unto them." In the ninth of Exodus, when Pharao was well whipped, he crieth: "I have now sinned; the Lord is just, but I and my people are unjust or wicked:" and immediately after again: "But when Pharao saw that it ceased raining, he sinned yet more, and hardened his heart, and it was hardened." So then these and such like places must be conferred with these words, "I have hardened Pharao's heart;" and out of them must be gathered a godly sense; such a sense, I mean, as maketh not God[2] the author of evil.

Amos iii. Now also the prophet Amos doth very plainly say: "There is no evil in a city, but the Lord doth it." But Augustine, *contra Adimantum*, cap. 26, did very religiously[3] write: "Evil in this place is not to be taken for sin, but for punishment; for the word (evil) is used in two significations: the one is the evil which a man doeth; the other evil is the pain which he suffereth. Now the prophet in this place speaketh

How God is said to do evil.

[1 pertinaciæ illius, Lat.; of that stubborn dealing.]
[2 Deum justissimum, Lat.] [3 orthodoxe, Lat.]

of that evil which is the punishment that men do suffer. For by the providence of God, which ruleth and governeth all things, man doth so commit the evil which he will, that he may suffer the evil which he would not. Therefore the evil that God doth is not evil in respect of God, but is evil to them upon whom his vengeance lighteth. So then he, in respect of himself, doth good; because every just thing is good: that vengeance of his is just, and so consequently it is good[4]." The place of Esay also must be none otherwise understood in his forty-fifth chapter, saying: "I am the Lord, and there is else none. It is I that created light and darkness: I make peace and evil: yea, I, even I the Lord, do all these things." For here he taketh evil for war, and maketh it the contrary to peace.

Note here, the first evil is the deed; the second, the punishment of the evil deed.

Again St Augustine, *De Natura Boni contra Manichæos* chap. 28, saith: "When we hear that all things are of him, and by him, and in him, we must understand it to be spoken of all the natures that are naturally. For sins are not of him, because they do not keep, but defile, nature; which sins the holy scriptures do diversly testify to be of the will of them which commit them[5]." Thus much St Augustine.

All things are of God, by God, and in God.

Neither is it a matter of any great difficulty to answer to that sentence of Salomon's, where he saith, "God created all things for his own sake; yea, the ungodly against the evil day." Proverbs xvi. For we believe that the most just God hath appointed a day[6] of affliction, judgment, or punishment[7], which shall come upon them in due time and season.

[4 Malum hoc loco non peccatum, sed pœna intelligenda est. Dupliciter enim appellatur malum; unum quod homo facit, alterum quod patitur pœna. De pœnis ergo loquebatur Propheta, cum hoc diceret. Divina enim providentia cuncta moderante et gubernante, ita homo male fecit quod vult, ut male patiatur quod non vult.—Ita ergo Deus malum facit, quod non ipsi Deo malum est, sed eis in quos vindicat. Itaque ipse, quantum ad se pertinet, bonum facit; quia omne justum bonum est, et justa est illa vindicta.—August. Opp. Tom. VI. fol. 43, col. 3. Par. 1531.]

[5 Cum autem audimus, Omnia ex ipso, et per ipsum, et in ipso; omnes utique naturas intelligere debemus quæ naturaliter sunt. Neque enim ex ipso sunt peccata, quæ naturam non servant sed vitiant; quæ peccata ex voluntate esse peccantium multis modis sancta scriptura testatur.—Id. Tom. VI. fol. 115, col. 2.]

[6 certum diem, Lat.]

[7 impiis, Lat. omitted; for the ungodly.]

[Rom. ix. 18.] But whereas the apostle saith, "He hath mercy on whom he will, and whom he will he hardeneth;" we must not so wrest it to say, that God doth of necessity drive any man to sin, and that therefore he is the cause of sin. For the will of God is good and just, and willeth nothing but what is expedient, and not repugnant to nature and the word of God. And therefore it is that the prophet crieth: "The Lord is just in all his ways, and holy in all his works." Psal. cxlv.

Thus have I out of much that may be said picked out a little, and laid it before your eyes, dearly beloved, for you to consider, of the cause of sin.

The differences of sin. We are now come to demonstrate the first parts which were set down in the description of sin immediately upon the beginning of this sermon. They are in number two: the first is, "Sin is the natural corruption of mankind;" the latter is, "And the action that riseth of it contrary to the law of God." Some verily, in setting down the kinds or differences of sins, do very well and advisedly say, "Of sins, one is original, and another actual." I mean in order to speak of both, so far as God shall give me grace: and first, of the same natural corruption in mankind; that is, of original sin.

Original sin. Now therefore it is called original sin, because it cometh from the first beginning, being derived from our first parents into us all by lineal descent and continual course from one to another; for we bring it with us in our nature from our mother's womb into this life.

Of this sin there are many definitions made, which as they do not disagree among themselves, so yet is one of them more full and evident than another of them is. Some say, Original sin is the corruption of nature from the first perfectness. Other some say, It is the corruption of man's nature, which maketh that we do not truly obey the law of God, and are not without sin. Again; some call it a want, or defect; other call it concupiscence; which might better seem to be the fruit of original sin, that is, of our corruption. Other call it an inordinateness of appetites, which is left in nature[1]. Anselmus, a late writer, saith: "Original sin is the want of

[1 The various definitions of original sin from the fathers and schoolmen, &c., are collected in Jod. Coccii Thesaur. Cathol. p. 100, &c. Colon. 1620.]

original righteousness[2]." But this is thought to have been spoken somewhat too briefly; for the force of sin seemeth to be not sufficiently expressed: for our nature is not only void and barren of goodness, but also most abundant and fruitful of all evils and naughtiness. Therefore the definition of Hugo is taken for the better, who saith: "Original sin is ignorance in the mind, and concupiscence in the flesh[3]." But yet this seemeth to be a far fuller and better definition: "Original sin is the vice or depravation of the whole man, whereby he cannot understand[4] God and his will; but of a perverse judgment of things doth overthwartly, and perverteth all things[5]."

And now among all these definitions I wish you, dearly beloved, to consider of this also: Original sin is the inheritably descending naughtiness or corruption of our nature, which doth first make us endangered to the wrath of God, and then bringeth forth in us those works which the scripture calleth the works of the flesh. Therefore this original sin is neither a deed, nor a word, nor a thought; but a disease, a vice[6], a depravation, I say, of judgment and concupiscence; or a corruption of the whole man[7], that is, of the understanding, will, and all the power of man; out of which at last do flow all evil thoughts, naughty words, and wicked deeds.

The beginning of original sin.

This sin taketh beginning at and of Adam; and for that cause it is called the inheritably descending naughtiness and corruption of our nature. Concerning the corruption and sin of Adam, out of whom we are all born sinners, I have already sufficiently spoken, where I treated of the cause of sin[8]; and by and by hereafter shall follow somewhat more of the same

[2 Hoc peccatum, quod originale dico, aliud intelligere nequeo in eisdem (al. ipsis) infantibus, nisi ipsam, quam supra posui, factam per inobedientiam Adæ justitiæ nuditatem.—Anselmi Opp. de Concept. Virg. et Orig. Pec. cap. 27. p. 106. Lutet. Par. 1675.]

[3 Hoc autem vitium originis humanæ duplici corruptione naturam inficit: ignorantia scilicet mentem, et concupiscentia carnem.—Hugo de S. Victore de Sacr. Fid. Lib. I. par. 7. Tom. III. p. 397. col. 2. Mogunt. 1617.]

[4 nec animo persequi, Lat. omitted; nor follow after with his mind.]

[5 Vid. Bucer. de Vera Eccles. &c. compos. p. 105. ed. 1543.]

[6 morbus sive vitium, Lat.]

[7 totius humanæ naturæ, Lat.]

[8 See above, page 371.]

argument; so that I have no need to repeat anything here: I will therefore now pass forth to the rest.

The Pelagians.

The Pelagians denied that this evil of original sin was hereditary; for these are the very words of Pelagius himself: "As without virtue, so are we also born without vice; and before the action of our own will, that alone is in man which God created[1]." These words of his are somewhat obscure; but Cœlestius, the partner of Pelagius, did more openly spue out this poison, and say: "We did not therefore say that infants are to be baptized into the remission of sins, to the end that we should seem thereby to affirm that sin is *ex traduce*, or hereditary; which is utterly contrary to the catholic sense: because sin is not born with man, but is afterward put in ure by man; because it is declared to be, not the fault of the nature, but of the will[2]." Again Pelagius said, "That that first sin did not hurt the first man only, but all mankind also, his issue and offspring:" but he doth immediately add, "not by propagation, but by example;" that is to say, not that "they which came of him drew any vice of him, but because they that sinned afterward did in sinning imitate him that sinned first and before them[3]." This is to be seen in Aurelius Augustinus *De peccato originali contra Pelagium et Cœlestium*, Lib. II. cap. 6, 13, and 15.

That hereditary evil is in, and is born together with man.

We therefore must prove by the testimonies of holy scripture, that the evil is hereditary in man; and that original sin is born together with us, that is, that all men are born sinners into the world. The prophet therefore doth plainly cry, Psalm li., "Behold, I was born in wickedness,

[1 Ut sine virtute, ita et sine vitio procreamur: atque ante actionem propriæ voluntatis id solum in homine est, quod Deus condidit.—August. de Pec. Orig. contra Pelag. et Celest. Lib. II. cap. 13. Opp. Tom. VII. fol. 163. col. 2.]

[2 In remissionem autem peccatorum baptizandos infantes, non idcirco diximus, ut peccatum ex traduce firmare videamur: quod longe a catholico sensu alienum est; quia peccatum non cum homine nascitur, quod postmodum exercetur ab homine; quia non naturæ delictum, sed voluntatis esse demonstratur.—Ibid. Tom. VII. fol. 162. col. 3.]

[3 Dicit (Pelagius) non tantum primo homini, sed etiam humano generi primum illud obfuisse peccatum, non propagine sed exemplo: id est, non quod ex illo traxerint aliquod vitium, qui ex illo propagati sunt; sed quod eum primum peccantem imitati sunt omnes, qui postea peccaverunt.—Ibid. fol. 163. col. 2.]

and in sin hath my mother conceived me[4];" or, as another translation out of the Hebrew saith: "Behold, I was shapen in iniquity, and in sin my mother cherished or warmed me[5]:" that is to say, sin did then immediately cleave unto me, when I was once conceived and nourished in my mother's womb. Now that happened, undoubtedly, not by any vice of matrimony, (for the wedlock-bed is holy and undefiled;) but *ex traduce*, and by propagation. For Job in his fourteenth chapter saith manifestly: "Who can make or bring forth a pure or clean thing of that which is unclean[6]? no body undoubtedly is able to do it." Of that sort also there are many other sayings in the fifteenth and five and twentieth chapters of the same book. And Paul, the holy apostle of Christ, in the fifth to the Romans, doth most evidently say: "As by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; even so death entered into all men, insomuch as all have sinned. For unto the law was sin in the world: but sin is not imputed when there is no law. Nevertheless death reigned from Adam unto Moses, over them also that had not sinned with like transgression as did Adam," &c. Doth not the apostle in these words manifestly shew the propagation of sin, saying, "Sin entered by one man into the world; death entered into all men, insomuch as they have all sinned;" to wit, insomuch as they are all subject to corruption? And, that no men either before or after Moses might be excepted, he addeth: "Death reigned from Adam unto Moses over them also which had not sinned with the like transgression as did Adam;" that is to say, over them which had not[7] sinned of their own will, as Adam had, but drew from him original sin by propagation. St Augustine doth more fully excuss and handle this argument in his first book *De peccatorum meritis et remissione*, in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh chapter, and the rest as they follow in order[8]. Again, Paul in the seventh to the Romans calleth this evil the sin that dwelleth in us, that is to say, the sin

[4 Vulg. Vers. Ps. l. 7.] [5 Calvin. in loc. cit.]

[6 ex immunda (nimirum massa) Lat.; out of an unclean (he means) lump.]

[7 nondum, Lat.; not yet.]

[8 Hoc autem apostolicum testimonium in quo ait, Per unum hominem, &c.—Aug. Opp. Tom. VII. fol. 135. col. 1.]

that is begotten and born with us: for he addeth, "I am carnal, sold under sin;" and, "I know that in me (that is, my flesh) there dwelleth no good." And therefore the
[1 John i. 8.] blessed apostle and evangelist John telleth us, that "if we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us." He saith very significantly, 'we have,' and not, 'we have had,' or, 'we shall have;' for by our corrupt nature we have that proper unto us. Therefore it is manifest that the fiction of the Pelagians is false, whereby they affirm that we are born without vice: it is false, that the voluntary action only, and not the corruption or depravation which is not yet burst forth to the deed[1], is sin.

Voluntary sin.

And Augustine doth in one place call even that voluntary sin original sin; and that two sundry ways: first, not simply of itself, but in respect of Adam; because it, being committed by the naughty will of Adam, is drawn and made hereditary in us: secondly, because a naughty lust may be named a will[2]. For *Lib. Retract.* I. cap. 15, he saith: "If any man doth say, that even the very lust is nothing else but will, such a will yet as is vicious and subject to sin, he needeth not to be gainsaid: for where the thing is manifest, we must not strive about terms and words. For so it is proved, that without will there is no sin either in deed or in propagation[3];" that is, either actual or original[4]. Thus much Augustine, who doth also allege other sayings like to this in his third book *Contra Julianum Pelagianum*, chap. 5.[5] It shall be sufficient to us even without them to learn by the testimonies of the holy scriptures, that sin is not only

[1 in opus pravum, Lat.; to the evil deed.]

[2 Et illud quod in parvulis dicitur originale peccatum . . . non absurde vocatur etiam voluntarium, quia ex primi hominis mala voluntate contractum, factum est quodammodo hæreditarium.—Aug. Retract. Lib. I. cap. 13. Opp. Tom. I. fol. 4. col. 3.]

[3 Quod si quisquam dicit etiam ipsam cupiditatem nihil esse aliud quam voluntatem, sed vitiosam peccatoque servientem, non resistendum est, nec de verbis, cum res constat, controversia facienda est. Sic enim ostenditur sine voluntate nullum esse peccatum, sive in opere sive in origine.—Id. ibid. cap. 15. Tom. I. fol. 5. col. 4.]

[4 that is—original; the translator's addition.]

[5 Frustra itaque putas ideo in parvulis non esse delictum, quia sine voluntate, quæ in eis nulla est, esse non potest, &c.—Id. contr. Jul. Pelag. Lib. III. cap. 5. Tom. VII. fol. 204. col. 4.]

a voluntary action, but also an hereditary corruption or depravation that cometh by inheritance.

Not unlike to all this[6] is that sentence in Ezechiel, where the Lord saith: "The son shall not bear the iniquity of the father, but every man shall die in his own sin." For Adam's fall should do us no harm, if it were not so that even from him there is sprung up in us such a perverseness as is worthy of God's just judgment. But now, since all the inclination, disposition, and desire of our nature, even in a child but one day old, is repugnant to the pureness and will of God, which is only good; no man therefore is punished for his father, but every one for his own iniquity: and calamities fall even on the youngest babes, whom we see to be touched with many afflictions by the holy and just judgment of the most just God.

The son shall not bear the iniquity of the father. [Ezek. xviii. 20.]

Neither is their objection any whit stronger which say, that the children of holy parents cannot draw or take any spot of their parents; for they have their lineal descent of the fleshly generation, and not of the spiritual regeneration. And whereas the apostle said, "The unbelieving husband is sanctified by the wife, and the unbelieving wife is sanctified by the husband: else were your children unclean; but now are they clean:" it is not repugnant to our former allegations. For they are called holy, not by the prerogative of their birth or generation, as though children were born[7] holy without any spot or vice at all; but for because they, being born by nature corrupt, are by the virtue of the covenant and grace made pure, and uncleanness is not imputed to them, for Christ his sake, or the remission of sins which is pronounced in these words: "I will be thy God, and the God of thy seed after thee." For of old, even those children which of the seed of Abraham were holy and blessed received notwithstanding the sign of circumcision. Now what need, I pray you, had they had of circumcision, or purging, if by their birth they had had no uncleanness in them?

To be born of holy parents.

[1 Cor. vii. 14.]

That therefore is utterly false which ye heard even now that Cœlestius, the Pelagian, did utter in these words: "We did not therefore say that infants are to be baptized into

The catholic doctrine of original sin.

[6 His omnibus nihil repugnat, Lat.]

[7 sic, Lat. omitted; under these circumstances.]

the remission of sins, to the end that we should thereby seem to affirm that sin is *ex traduce*, or hereditary; which is utterly contrary to the catholic sense." For it is catholic and true doctrine, that the children of the Jews were circumcised, not so much only because they were partakers of the divine covenant, as for because that all the antiquity of holy fathers did so confess, that in infants there was somewhat which had need of cutting, that is, which had need to be remitted by the grace of God, and not be imputed to them unto death. It is catholic and true doctrine, that the infants of Christians are baptized, not so much because they are the children of God and freely received into the covenant; as for because there is in them, even from their birth, somewhat which the Lord by his grace doth wash away, lest it should bring upon them death and damnation. Yea, that cannot be catholic, which doth so manifestly repugn so many evident places of scripture, which prove that in infants there is sin by propagation. To confirm this we may add, that St Augustine in his first book *Contra Julianum Pelagianum*, cap. 2, gathereth together the testimonies of the most excellent learned bishops and doctors in the primitive[1] church, by which he proveth that all the ministers of the churches, even from the apostles' time, did both acknowledge and openly teach original sin. In that place he citeth the testimonies of Irenæus, Cyprian, Reticius, Olympius, Hilary, and Ambrose, his father and master in christian doctrine[2], Innocent, Gregory, Basil, and John Chrysostom; and at length he inferreth: "Wilt thou now call so great a consent of catholic priests a conspiracy of naughty men? Neither think thou that St Hierome is to be contemned, because he was but a priest only, and no bishop; who, being skilful in the Greek, Latin, and Hebrew tongues, and passing from the west unto the east church, lived in holy places and the study of the sacred scripture, even to his crone[3] and crooked age. He read all, or in a manner all, the works of them which in both parts of the world did write of ecclesiastical doctrine; and yet he neither held nor taught any otherwise of this point of doctrine[4]." And again the same Augustine,

All the ancient doctors or fathers of the church confess (with one assent) original sin.

The east and west churches.

[1 primitive, not in Lat.] [2 in Christo, Lat.]

[3 crones: old ewes who have lost their teeth. Grose's Provincial Glossary, in voc.]

[4 An tantam consensionem sacerdotum catholicorum conspira-

in his third book *De Peccatorum Meritis et Remissione*, cap. 6, saith: "Hierome, expounding the prophecy of Jonas, when he came to that place where mention is made that even the little children were chastened with fasting, saith: 'It began with the eldest, and came even to the youngest. For there is none without sin; no, not he which is but one day old, nor he whose grey head hath seen many years. For if the stars are not clean in the sight of God, how much more unclean are dust[5] and putrefying earth, and those which are in subjection to the sin of Adam's transgression!'" To these words of Hierome doth Augustine himself annex this that followeth: "If it were so that we might easily ask it of this most learned man, how many teachers of the holy scriptures in both the tongues, and how many writers of christian treatises would he reckon up, which, since the time that Christ his church was first planted, have themselves neither thought, of their predecessors learned, nor taught their successors, any other than this doctrine touching original sin! I verily, though I have read nothing so much as he, do not remember that I have read any other doctrine of Christians which admit or receive both the testaments, whether they were in the unity of the catholic church, or otherwise in schisms and heresies: I do not remember that I have read any other thing in them, whose writings touching this matter I could come by to read them, if either they did follow, or thought that they did follow, or would have men believe that they did follow, the canonical scriptures[6]." Thus far hath Augustine; teaching, in

That is, he taught and held original sin.

tionem dicturus es perditorum? Nec sanctum Hieronymum, quia presbyter fuit, contemnendum arbitreris; qui Græco et Latino, insuper et Hebræo eruditus eloquio, ex occidentali ad orientalem transiens ecclesiam, in locis sanctis atque in literis sacris usque ad decrepitam vixit ætatem. Hic omnes vel pene omnes, qui ante illum ex utraque parte orbis de doctrina ecclesiastica scripserant, legit, nec aliam de hac re tenuit prompsitque sententiam.—Aug. Opp. Tom. VII. fol. 197. col. 1.]

[5 vermis, Lat.; a worm.]

[6 Nam in eo quod in Jonam prophetam scripsit (Hieronymus), cum ad eum venisset locum, ubi commemorantur etiam parvuli jejunio castigati: Major, inquit, ætas incipit, et usque ad minorem pervenit. Nullus enim absque peccato, nec si unius quidem diei fuerit vita ejus, et innumerabiles anni vitæ illius. Si enim stellæ mundæ non sunt in conspectu Dei, quanto magis vermis et putredo, et ii qui peccato offendentis Adam tenentur obnoxii! Hunc doctissimum virum si facile

the very beginning, that all the saints did by a full consent and agreement in doctrine most expressly grant and confess, that original sin is even in new-born infants. Methinketh that St Hierome did not only in Jonas, but also much more evidently in Ezechiel, confess and affirm original sin. His words are to be seen, *Comment. lib.* XIV. in cap. 47, *ad Ezechielem*, and are verbatim as followeth: "What man can make his boast that he hath a chaste heart, or to whose mind by the windows of the eyes the death of concupiscence, or (to use a milder term) the tickling of the mind, doth not enter in? For the world is set in wickedness; and even from his childhood the heart of man is set to naughtiness; so that not the very first day of a man's nativity his nature is free from sin and naughtiness. Whereupon David in the Psalm saith: 'For behold I was conceived in iniquity, and in sin my mother conceived me.' Not in the iniquities of my mother, or in mine own sins; but in the iniquities of our mortal state. And therefore the apostle saith, 'Death reigned from Adam to Moses, over them also which had not sinned with the like transgression as did Adam[1].'" Thus much hath Hierome. And we have hitherto alleged all these sayings, to the end

interrogare possemus, quam multas utriusque linguæ divinarum scripturarum tractatores et Christianarum disputationum scriptores commemoraret, qui non aliud ex quo Christi ecclesia est constituta senserunt, non aliud a majoribus acceperunt, non aliud posteris tradiderunt! Ego quidem, quamvis longe pauciora legerim, non memini me aliud audisse a Christianis, qui utrumque accipiunt testamentum, non solum in catholica ecclesia, verum etiam in qualibet hæresi vel schismate constitutis; non memini me aliud legisse apud eos, quos de his rebus aliquid scribentes legere potui, qui scripturas canonicas sequerentur, vel sequi se crederent credive voluissent.—August. Opp. Tom. VII. fol. 148. col. 4.]

[1 Quis enim hominum gloriari potest castum se habere cor? vel ad cujus mentem per oculorum fenestras mors concupiscentiæ non introivit, et, ut parum dicam, animi titillatio? Mundus enim in maligno positus est; et a pueritia appositum est cor hominis ad malum: ut ne unius quidem diei a nativitatis suæ exordio sine peccato sit humana conditio. Unde et David confitetur in Psalmo, Ecce enim in iniquitatibus conceptus sum, et in peccatis concepit me mater mea. Non in iniquitatibus matris meæ, vel certe meis; sed in iniquitatibus humanæ conditionis. Unde et apostolus dicit, Regnavit mors ab Adam usque ad Moysen, etiam super eos qui non peccaverunt in similitudinem prævaricationis Adæ.—Hieron. Opp. Tom. III. col. 1055. Par. 1704.]

we might prove that original sin is the natural or hereditary corruption of man's nature.

What and how great the corruption of our nature is.

Let us now see what and how great the hereditary naughtiness or corruption of our nature is, and what power it hath to work[2] in man. Our nature verily, as I shewed you above, was before the fall most excellent and pure in our father Adam: but after the fall it did by God's just judgment become corrupt and utterly naught, which is in that naughtiness by propagation, or *ex traduce*, derived into all us which are the posterity and offspring of Adam; as both experience and the thing itself do evidently declare, as well in sucklings or infants as those of riper years. For even very babes give manifest tokens of evident depravation so soon as they once begin to be able to do anything; yea, before they can perfectly sound any one syllable of a whole word. All our understanding is dull, blunt, gross, and altogether blind in heavenly things. Our judgment in divine matters is perverse and frivolous. For there arise in us most horrible and absurd thoughts and opinions touching God, his judgments, and wonderful works. Yea, our whole mind is apt and ready to errors, to fables, and our own destruction: and when as our judgments are nothing but mere folly, yet do we prefer them far above God's wisdom, which we esteem but foolishness in comparison of our own conceits and corrupt imaginations; for he lied not which said: "The natural man perceiveth not the things of the Spirit of God; for they are foolishness unto him; neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned." Now Paul calleth him the natural man[3], which liveth naturally by the vital spirit, and is not regenerate by the Holy Ghost: and since we all are such, we are therefore wholly overcome and governed of *philautia*, that is, too great a self-love and delight in ourselves, whereby all things that we ourselves do work do highly please us; looking still very busily to our own selves and our commodity, when in the meantime we neglect all others, yea, rather do afflict them. Neither did Plato unadvisedly esteem that vice of self-love to be the very root of every evil[4]. Furthermore, our whole will is

[1 Cor. ii. 14.]

[2 quid efficiat, Lat.]

[3 animalem hominem, Lat.]

[4 Stobæi Floril. Tit. xxiii. Tom. I. p. 427. ed. Gaisford. Oxon. 1822.]

led captive by concupiscence, which, as a root envenomed with poison, infecteth all that is in man, and doth incline, draw on, and drive men to things carnal, forbidden, and contrary to God, to the end that he may greedily pursue them, put all his delight in them, and content himself with them. Moreover there is in us no power or ability to do any good: for we are slow, sluggish, and heavy to goodness; but lively, quick, and ready enough to any evil or naughtiness. And, that I may at last conclude, and briefly express the whole force and signification of our hereditary depravation and corruption; I say, that this depravation of our nature is nothing else but the blotting of God's image in us. There was in our father Adam before his fall the very image and likeness of God; which image, as the apostle expoundeth it, was a conformity and participation of God's wisdom, justice, holiness, truth, integrity, innocency, immortality, and eternal felicity. Therefore what else can the blotting or wiping out of this image be but original sin; that is, the hatred of God, the ignorance of God, foolishness, distrustfulness, desperation, self-love, unrighteousness, uncleanness, lying, hypocrisy, vanity, corruption, violent injury, wickedness, mortality, and eternal infelicity? This corrupt image and likeness is by propagation derived into us all, according to that saying in the fifth of Genesis: "Adam begat a son in his own similitude and likeness." Therefore as our father Adam was himself corrupted, depraved, and full of calamities, so hath he begotten us his sons corrupt, depraved, and full of miseries[1]: so that all we which do descend of his unpure seed are born infected with the contagious poison of sin. For of a rotten root do spring as rotten branches, which in like manner put over their rottenness into the little twigs that shoot out and grow upon them.

Our depravation is the blotting out of the image of God in us.

Original sin condemneth.

And this evil verily, this corruption and this sin, although it lie hid in infants, and by reason of their tender age doth not break forth into any deed-doing, yet notwithstanding it is a sin; and such a sin verily as maketh them endangered unto God's wrath, and separateth them from the fellowship of God. For with the most holy God, who "is a consuming fire," no man can abide but he that is unspotted and clean from the filthiness of sins. And Paul saith: "All have sinned,

[Rom. iii. 23.]

[1 corrupt—miseries, the translator's addition.]

and are destitute, or have need, of the glory of God." This glory of God is the very image of God: whereof because they are destitute, they being corrupted with original sin are worthily excluded from the fellowship of God. To this place doth belong the whole treatise of concupiscence in the fourth sermon of this third Decade: where I taught you, that bare concupiscence, which is not yet burst forth to the deed-doing, is a sin; and that too such a sin as maketh all men subject to the curse of God. For it is written: "Cursed be every one which abideth not in all things that are written in the book of this law." Therefore the first effect of original sin is this, that it bringeth wrath, death, and damnation upon very infants, and so consequently upon all mankind: whereof, that it may the more firmly be settled in every man's mind without all scruple of doubting, I will by some store of testimonies out of the scripture make manifest proof unto you, not by repeating those places again which I have already cited in this sermon, and in the fourth sermon of this third Decade. [Deut. xxvii. 26; Gal. iii. 10.]

The Lord in the gospel saith to Nicodemus: "Verily, I say unto thee, unless a man be born from above[2], he cannot see the kingdom of God." And again[3]: "Unless a man be born of water and of the Holy Ghost[4], he cannot enter into the kingdom of God. That which is born of the flesh is flesh; and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit." In these words are comprehended two things worthy to be remembered, and very consonant to our present argument. First, none enter into the kingdom of heaven but those that be regenerate from above[5] by the Holy Ghost: therefore our first birth tendeth to death, and not to life; for in our first nativity we are born to death. The latter is, "That which is born of flesh is flesh:" therefore in our first nativity we are all born flesh. But touching the disposition of the flesh and the force thereof, the apostle saith: "The fleshly mind is enmity against God: for it is not obedient to the law of God, neither can be." Therefore that fleshly birth engendereth us, not the friends and sons, but the enemies, of God; and so consequently doth make us endangered to the wrath of God. [John iii. 3, 5, 6.] [Rom. viii. 7.]

[2] So margin of Auth. Ver.]
[3] Amen dico tibi, Lat. omitted; Verily, I say unto thee.]
[4] et spiritu, Lat.] [5] e cœlo, Lat.]

Paul in his second chapter to the Ephesians saith: "We were by nature the sons of wrath, even as other." In which words he pronounceth that all men are damned. For all those that are damned, or are worthy of eternal death, and all such with whom God hath good cause to be offended, he calleth the sons of wrath, after the proper phrase of the Hebrew speech. For the wrath of God doth signify the punishment which is by the just judgment of God laid upon us men. And he is called the child of death, which is adjudged or appointed to be killed. So is also the son of perdition, &c. Now mark, that he calleth us all the sons of wrath, that is, the subjects of pain and damnation, even by nature, in birth, from our mother's womb. But whatsoever is naturally in all men, that is original: therefore original sin maketh us the sons of wrath; that is, we are all for our original corruption made subject to death and utter damnation. This place of Paul for the proof of this argument is worthy to be remembered[1].

The same apostle in the first to the Colossians saith: "God hath delivered us from the power of darkness, and hath translated us into the kingdom of his dear Son." Now if we be translated into the kingdom of the Son of God, then were we once in the kingdom of the devil. And to this place belong very many testimonies of the same apostle in the fifth chapter of his Epistle to the Romans: "By one man's sin many are dead." Again; "By one that sinned came death; for judgment came by one unto condemnation." Again; "For the sin of one death reigned by the means of one." And again; "By the sin of one sin came upon all men[2] unto condemnation." Finally, original sin is by David and Paul expressly called sin: therefore death is due to original sin; for "the reward of sin is death."

Original sin is proper to all.

We do therefore conclude, that infants do bring damnation with them into this world even from their mothers' wombs; because they bring with them a corrupt nature: and therefore they perish not by any others', but by their own, fault and naughtiness. For although St Augustine doth in one place seem to call this sin *Peccatum alienum*, that is, another's sin, (that thereby he may shew how it is by

[1 valde est insignis, Lat.]

[2 propagatum est malum, Lat. and Erasmus.]

propagation derived from other into us,) yet doth he confess that it is in very deed and truly proper to all and every several one of us[3]. And although it be so, that for lack of age in a new-born babe this disease hath not already brought forth the fruit of his iniquity; yet notwithstanding the very whole nature of the babe is nothing but filthy corruption, and a certain seed of sin and wickedness, which cannot choose but be abominable unto the Lord: for God doth hate all manner of uncleanness[4].

With this agreeth[5] that sentence of Paul, where he saith: "Where no law is, there is no transgression." For the apostle doth not absolutely say that the sin or transgression (which is sin in very deed in the sight of God) is no sin; but he respecteth the estimation of men, how they do repute it. For men, before sin doth appear and is opened unto them by the law, do not so repute or think of sin as it ought in very deed to be esteemed. The same Paul in another place saith: "Sin without the law was once dead:" and, "I once lived without law; but when the law came, sin revived." If so be now that sin revived, then did it live before the law, afore it was stirred up by the law, although it did not so rifely then, as now, shew forth the strength and force of itself. To this also is to be added that saying of Paul: "Sin was in the world even to the law; but sin is not imputed when there is no law." Lo here, sin was in the world before the law, but it was not imputed; not because God did not impute it, but because men do not impute it to themselves. Under cinders doth fire lie hid; which is very fire indeed, but, because it casteth out no flame or light of itself, it is not thought to be fire. And for that cause the learned and godly man of famous memory, Ulderick Zuinglius[6], Ulderick Zuinglius of original sin.

Where there is no law there is no transgression. [Rom. iv. 15.]

Rom. vii.

[Rom. v. 13.]

[3 Nec sic dicuntur ista *aliena peccata*, tanquam omnino ad parvulos non pertineant... Sed dicuntur *aliena*, quia nondum ipsi agebant vitas proprias, sed quicquid erat in futura propagine vita unius hominis continebat.—August. Marcellino de Baptism. Parv. Epist. 16. Opp. Tom. II. fol. 180. col. 3. Par. 1531.]

[4 This paragraph is borrowed almost literally from Calvin, Instit. Lib. II. cap. 1. § 8.]

[5 His nihil repugnat, Lat.]

[6 Peccatum bifariam in evangelica doctrina accipitur: primum, pro morbo isto, quem ex generis auctore contrahimus, quo amori nostri addictis suum... Eum morbum intelligit Paulus Rom. vii. quum dicit,

did diligently distinguish betwixt sin and disease or infirmity, when once he had occasion to dispute of original sin, which he chose rather to call a disease than sin: because by the name of sin all men do understand the naughty act committed by our own consent and will against the law of God; but by the name of disease or sickness they understand a certain corruption and depravation of the nature that was created good, and the miserable condition of bondage whereinto it is brought: even as also we read[1] before, that Augustine did call this original sin *peccatum alienum*, another's sin, that thereby he might give us to understand that it is hereditary, and doth descend from others into us; and yet he denied not but it is proper to every several one of us. In like manner Zuinglius denied not original sin, as some did falsely slander him: he thought not that by itself it is unhurtful to infants, but so far forth as it is by the grace of God, through the blood of Jesus Christ, in the virtue of God's promise and covenant, made harmless unto them[2]. His mind was to make an exquisite difference betwixt the actual and original sins[3]. For in rendering an account of his faith in the council held at

Jam non ego operor illud, sed inhabitans in me peccatum... Secundo loco accipitur peccatum pro eo quod contra legem fit; ut, per legem cognitio peccati. Rom. vii. Actio ergo quæcunque tandem, quæ contra legem fit, peccatum appellatur.—Zuingl. de Vera et Falsa Relig. Comment. p. 116. Tiguri. 1525.]

[1 audivimus, Lat.; heard, ed. 1577.]

[2 Vitium hoc et morbus homini, quoad bonum et malum non discernit, pro peccato et culpa imputari nequit, utcunque gravis sit et pestifer. Unde colligimus peccatum originale morbum quidem esse, qui tamen per se culpabilis non est, nec damnationis pœnam inferre potest,... donec homo contagione hac corruptus legem Domini transgreditur; quod tum demum fieri consuevit, cum legem sibi positam videt et intelligit... Peccatum ergo originale damnationem non meretur, si modo quis parentes fideles nactus fuerit. Quæcunque enim hoc loco de originali infantium vel parvulorum peccato loquimur, ad fidelium duntaxat infantes referri debent, et de solis illis intelligi.—Id. De Baptismo. Tom. II. pp. 90, 89.]

[3 Diximus originalem contagionem morbum esse, non peccatum, quod peccatum cum culpa conjunctum est; culpa vero ex commisso vel admisso ejus nascitur qui facinus designavit... Morbus ergo iste ac vitium, primi parentis culpa inflictus, infecit sobolem, non soboles seipsam. Cum ergo peccatum appellatur in scripturis, per denominationem hoc fieri constare jam satis arbitror.—Id. De Pecc. Orig. ad Urban. Rheg. Tom. II. p. 116.]

Augusta[4], the year of our Lord 1530, he said: "I acknowledge that original sin is by condition and contagion born in and with all them that are begotten by the act of a man and a woman: and I know that we are the sons of wrath. Neither am I anything against it, that this disease and condition should, as Paul termeth it, be called sin: yea, it is such a sin, as that they, whosoever are born in it, are the enemies and adversaries of God Almighty. For hither doth the condition of their birth draw them, and not the committing of wickedness, except it be so far forth as our first parent committed it. The very true cause therefore of our disloyalty and death is the crime and wickedness which Adam committed; and that in very deed is sin: and this sin which cleaveth to us is in very deed a disease and condition, yea, it is a necessity of dying[5]." And so forth as followeth; for hitherto I have rehearsed his very words.

Original sin bringeth forth the works of the flesh.

There is now remaining the other effect of original sin for me to expound. It breaketh out and bringeth forth in us those works that the scriptures call the works of the flesh; even like as when an oven set on fire doth cast out flames and sparkles; or as a fountain that ever springeth doth pour out water in great abundance[6]. There is no quietness in the nature of man: for covetousness with filthy lust ariseth in it, ambition cleaveth to it, anger invadeth it, pride puffeth it up and causeth it to swell, drunkenness delighteth it, and envy torments both thyself and others. Therefore the Lord in the gospel saith: "Out of the heart proceed evil thoughts, murders, adulteries, whoredoms, thefts, false-witness-bearings, and evil speakings." Again, Paul in the fifth chapter to the [Matt. xv. 19.]

[4 Augsburg. See Sleidan. Comment. de Statu Relig. Lib. VII.]

[5 Originale peccatum per conditionem et contagionem agnasci omnibus, qui ex adfectu maris et fœminæ gignuntur, agnosco, et nos esse natura filios iræ scio .... Quanquam nihil moror hunc morbum et conditionem, juxta Pauli morem, appellari peccatum. Imo tale est peccatum, ut quicunque in eo nascuntur hostes et adversarii Dei sunt. Huc enim trahit illos nativitatis conditio, non sceleris perpetratio, nisi quantum hoc semel perpetravit primus parens. Vera igitur perduellionis et mortis causa est perpetratum ab Adam crimen ac nefas; atque hoc vere est peccatum: at peccatum istud, quod nobis adhærescit, et vere morbus et conditio, imo necessitas est moriendi.—Id. ad Carol. Rom. Imp. Fidei ratio. Tom. II. p. 539.]

[6 aut scaturigo aquam perenniter profundit, Lat.]

Galatians doth reckon up no small number of the works of the flesh; even as he doth the like also in the first and third chapters of his epistle to the Romans. In the fourth to the Ephesians he doth very properly[1] describe those works of the flesh, which spring out of the natural corruption of all them[2] which are not regenerate by the Holy Ghost. "This I say," saith he, "and testify unto you[3], that ye henceforth walk not as other Gentiles walk, in vanity of their mind; darkened in cogitation, being alienated from the life of God by the ignorance that is in them, by the blindness of their hearts: which being past feeling have given themselves over unto wantonness, to work all uncleanness with greediness." This, though it be but little, shall suffice for this place; for I will more largely prosecute it in the treatise of actual sin: to the handling whereof I will presently pass, so soon as I have by the way admonished you, that I have not without good cause thus far in many words spoken of the cause of original sin, that is, of man's depravation and the corruption of all his strength.

On these points the foundations of our faith are laid.

For as in these are opened the veins of pure doctrine, so in them are placed the foundations of our faith and whole belief. For if there be no original sin, then is there no grace: or if there be any, yet shall it have nothing to work in us. If our own strength is whole and sound, then have we no need of any physician. In vain therefore came the Son of God into the world[4]; for then shall men be saved by their own strength and ability: and so shall the foundation of our faith be quite turned upside down. Therefore St Augustine is very vehement in this cause; whose golden words I will recite unto you, dearly beloved, out of his second book *De Originali Peccato contra Pelagium et Cœlestium.* In the twenty-third and twenty-fourth chapters I find written as followeth: "There is great diversity in these questions, which are thought to be beside the articles of faith, and those wherein (keeping sound the faith whereby we are Christians) it is either not known what is true, and so the sentence definitive is suspended; or else it is otherwise guessed at by human and unassured suspicion than the thing itself in very deed is: as for example, when it is demanded of what sort and where

[1 graphice, Lat.] [2 in omnibus, Lat.]
[3 per Dominum, Lat. omitted; by the Lord.]
[4 missus, Lat. omitted; being sent.]

paradise is, where God placed man whom he had made of the dust of the earth, when as notwithstanding christian faith doubteth not but that there is a paradise." And after the recital of a few more such questions, at last he saith: "Who may not perceive in these and such like sundry and innumerable questions, appertaining either to the most secret works of God, or the most dark and intricate places of the holy scriptures, which it is hard to comprehend or define in any certain order, both that many things are unknown without the peril of christian faith, and also that in some points men do err without any crime of heretical doctrine? But concerning the two men; by the one of whom we are sold under sin, by the other redeemed from sin; by one we are cast headlong into death, by the other we are made free unto life; because that man did in himself destroy us by doing his own will and not the will of him that made him, but this man hath in himself saved us by doing not his own will but the will of him that sent him; therefore, in the consideration of these two men christian faith doth properly consist. For there is one God and one Mediator of God and man, the man Christ Jesus; because there is none other name under heaven given unto men in which they must be saved; and in him hath God appointed all men to trust, raising him up from death to life. Therefore christian verity doubteth not but that without this faith, that is, without the faith of the only Mediator of God and man, the man Christ Jesus; without the belief, I say, of his resurrection, which God hath prescribed to men, which cannot be truly believed without the belief of his incarnation and death; without the faith therefore of the incarnation, death, and resurrection of Christ, none of the ancient just men could be cleansed and justified of God from their sins: whether they were in the number of those just men whom the holy scripture mentioneth; or in the number of those just men whom the scripture nameth [not], and yet are to be believed to have been either before the deluge, or betwixt the deluge and the law, or in the very time of the law; not only among the children of Israel, as the prophets were, but also without that people, as Job was. For even their hearts were cleansed by the same faith of the Mediator, and charity was poured into them by the same Holy Spirit, which breatheth where he listeth, not following after merits, but even working the very merits

Christian faith consisteth in the consideration of two men.

Some were saved beside Israel, but not without Christ.

themselves. For God's grace will not be by any means, unless it be free by all means. Although therefore death reigned from Adam unto Moses, because the law given by Moses could not overcome it; for there was no such law given as could quicken, but such a law as whose office was to shew, that the dead, to the quickening of whom grace was necessary, were not only overthrown by the propagation and dominion of sin, but were also condemned by the hidden[1] transgression of the very law itself; not that every one should perish that did then understand it in the mercy of God, but that every one, being through the dominion of death appointed unto punishment and detected to himself by the transgression of the law, should seek for the help of God; that where sin abounded, grace might more abound, which alone doth deliver from the body of this death. Although therefore the law given by Moses could not rid any man from the kingdom of death, yet in the very time of the law were the men of God not under the terrifying, convincing, and punishing law, but under the delectable, saving, and delivering grace. There were among them some which said, 'In iniquity was I conceived, and in sin hath my mother fed me in her womb[2].'" And so forth; for hitherto I have cited the very words of St Augustine.

[1 The translator read *abdita* for *addita*.]

[2 Longe aliter se habent quæstiones istæ, quas esse præter fidem arbitratur, quam sunt illæ, in quibus, salva fide qua Christiani sumus, aut ignoratur quid verum sit et sententia definitiva suspenditur, aut aliter quam est humana et infirma suspicione conjicitur: veluti cum quæritur qualis vel ubi sit paradisus, ubi constituit Deus hominem quem formavit ex pulvere, cum tamen esse illum paradisum fides christiana non dubitet..... Quis enim non sentiat in his atque hujusmodi variis et innumerabilibus quæstionibus, sive ad obscurissima opera Dei sive ad scripturarum abditissimas latebras pertinentibus, quas certo aliquo genere complecti ac definire difficile est, et multa ignorari salva christiana fide, et alicubi errari sine aliquo hæretici dogmatis crimine? Sed in causa duorum hominum, quorum per unum venundati sumus sub peccato, per alterum redimimur a peccatis; per unum præcipitati sumus in mortem, per alterum liberamur ad vitam; quoniam ille nos in se perdidit faciendo voluntatem suam, non ejus a quo factus est, iste nos in se salvos fecit non faciendo voluntatem suam, sed ejus a quo missus est; in horum ergo duorum hominum causa proprie fides christiana consistit. Unus est enim Deus, et unus mediator Dei et hominum, homo Christus Jesus: quoniam non est aliud nomen sub cœlo datum hominibus, in quo oporteat

I have thus far spoken of original sin, of the native and hereditary corruption of our nature, which is the first part in the definition of sin. Here followeth now the latter part; to wit, the very action which ariseth of that corruption, the actual sin, I say, which is so called *ab actu*, that is, an act or a deed-doing. For insomuch as that corruption which is born together with and is hereditary in us doth not always lie hid, but worketh outwardly and sheweth forth itself, and doth at last bring forth an imp of her own kind and nature, which imp is actual sin; therefore we define actual sin to be an action, or work, or fruit, of our corrupt and naughty nature, expressing itself in thoughts, words, and works against the law of God, and thereby deserving the wrath of God.

nos salvos fieri, et in illo definivit Deus fidem omnibus, suscitans illum a mortuis. Itaque sine ista fide, hoc est, sine fide unius mediatoris Dei et hominum, hominis Christi Jesu; sine fide, inquam, resurrectionis ejus, quam Deus hominibus definivit, quæ utique sine incarnatione ejus ac morte non potest veraciter credi; sine fide ergo incarnationis et mortis et resurrectionis Christi, nec antiquos justos, ut justi essent a peccatis, potuisse mundari et Dei gratia justificari, veritas christiana non dubitat; sive in eis justis quos sancta scriptura commemorat, sive in eis justis quos quidem illa non commemorat, sed tamen fuisse credendi sunt vel ante diluvium, vel inde usque ad datam legem, vel ipsius legis tempore, non solum in filiis Israel, sicut fuerunt prophetæ, sed etiam extra eundem populum, sicut fuit Job. Et ipsorum enim corda eadem mundabantur mediatoris fide, et diffundebatur in eis caritas per Spiritum sanctum, qui ubi vult spirat, non merita sequens, sed etiam ipsa merita faciens. Non enim Dei gratia gratia erit ullo modo, nisi gratuita fuerit omni modo. Quamvis ergo mors regnaverit ab Adam usque ad Moysen, quia non eam potuit vincere nec lex data per Moysen, non enim data est quæ posset vivificare, sed quæ mortuos, quibus vivificandis esset gratia necessaria, non solum peccati propagatione et dominatione prostratos, verum etiam ipsius legis addita prævaricatione convictos, deberet ostendere, non ut periret quisquis hoc in Dei misericordia etiam tunc intelligeret, sed ut per regnum mortis ad supplicium destinatus etiam sibi ipsi per prævaricationem legis manifestatus Dei quæreret adjutorium, ut ubi abundavit peccatum superabundaret gratia, quæ sola liberat a corpore mortis hujus. Quamvis ergo nec lex per Moysen data potuerit a quoquam homine regnum mortis auferre, erant tamen et legis tempore homines Dei, non sub lege terrente, convincente, puniente, sed sub gratia delectante, sanante, liberante: erant qui dicerent, Ego in iniquitatibus conceptus sum, et in peccatis mater mea in utero me aluit.—August. Opp. Par. 1531. Tom. VII. fol. 164. col. 2. 3. de Pecc. Orig. contra Pelag. et Celest. Lib. II. capp. 23, 24, 25.]

The cause of actual sin.

So then by this the cause of actual sin is known to be the very corruption of mankind, which sheweth forth itself through concupiscence and evil affections: affections entice the will; and will, being helped with the other faculties in man that work together with it, doth finish actual sin. And that ye may more clearly perceive that which I say, I wish you to note, that our mind hath two parts: the understanding, or reason, or judgment; and the will or appetite. In the reason are the laws of nature, whereunto must be added the preaching, or reading, or knowledge of God's word. And now, as of good works in man there are two especial causes, to wit, sound judgment well framed by the word of God, and a will consenting and obeying thereunto, (and yet notwithstanding there is principally to be required the coming to of the Holy Ghost from heaven[1], to illuminate the mind and move forward the will;) even so we may most properly say that actual sin is finished, when any thing is of set purpose, with advised judgment and the consent of our will, committed against the law of God. And yet to these there do many times happen other outward causes both visible and invisible; for evil spirits move men, and evil men[2] move men, and other infinite examples of corruption that are in the world. Hope, fear, and weakness, do also move men. Augustine, *Quæst. in Exodum* xxix. saith: "The beginning of vice is in the will of man: but the hearts of men are moved by sundry accidental causes, now this, now that; sometimes the causes are all one; the difference is in the manner and order, according to every one's proper qualities, which do arise of every several will[3]." Again in the seventy-ninth psalm he saith: "Two things there are that work all sins in mortal men, desire and fear. Consider, examine, and ask your hearts, search your consciences, and see, if any sins can be but by desiring, or else by fearing. Thou art promised, if thou wilt sin, to have such a reward given thee as thou dost delight in; and for desire of the gift thou crackest thy conscience, and dost commit sin. And again on

[1 extrinsecus aut cœlitus accedens, Lat.]

[2 homines, Lat.; *not* evil men.]

[3 In voluntate quippe hominis est origo vitiorum; moventur autem causis corda hominum, alia sic, alia vero sic; etiam non diversis causis, sæpe diverso modo secundum proprias qualitates quæ ex voluntatibus veniunt.—August. Opp. Tom. IV. fol. 29. col. 2.]

the other side, though peradventure thou wilt not be seduced with gifts, yet being terrified with threatenings thou dost, for dread of that which thou fearest, commit the iniquity that otherwise thou wouldest not. As for example, some one man or other would with gifts corrupt thee to bear false witness. Thou presently hast turned thyself to God, and hast said in thy heart, 'What doth it advantage a man, if he gain the whole world, and suffer the loss of his own soul?' I will not be hired with gifts to lose my soul for the gain of money. Thereupon he, which before enticed thee, doth now turn himself to terrify thee; and for because his gifts did fail to hire thee, he beginneth to threaten unto thee damage, banishment, wounds, and death. In such a case now if greediness could not, yet fear perhaps might cause thee to sin[4]." The same Augustine again, in his book *De Sermone Domini in Monte*, saith: "Three things there be by which sin is accomplished, suggestion, delectation, and consent. Suggestion, whether it be wrought by the memory, or senses of the body; as when we see, hear, smell, taste, or touch any thing. Now if we be delighted to have it, that unlawful delight must be restrained: as for example, when we fast, if at the sight of meat our appetite do arise, it is not done without delectation; but we must not give our consent to that delectation, but suppress it with the power of reason; for if the consent be given, then is the sin accomplished. These three things are correspondent to the circumstances of the history that is written in Genesis: so that of the serpent was made that suggestion; in the carnal appetite, as in Eva, was the delectation; and in reason, as in Adam, did the full consent appear: which being finished,

[4 Omnia peccata duæ res faciunt in homine, cupiditas et timor. Cogitate, discutite, interrogate corda vestra, perscrutamini conscientias; videte utrum possint esse peccata, nisi aut cupiendo aut timendo. Proponitur tibi præmium, ut pecces; id est, quod te delectet: facis propter quod cupis. Sed forte non induceris donis, terreris minis: facis propter quod times. Corrumpere te vult aliquis ut dicas, verbi gratia, falsum testimonium... Attendisti tu Deum, et dixisti in animo tuo, Quid prodest homini, si totum mundum lucretur, animæ autem suæ detrimentum patiatur? Non adducor præmio ut perdam animam meam pro lucro pecuniæ. Convertit ille se ad incutiendum metum, qui præmio corrumpere non valuit; incipit minari damnum, et expulsionem, cædes, fortassis mortem. Ibi jam si cupiditas non valuit, forte timor valebit ut pecces.—Id. Tom. VIII. fol. 185. col. 4.]

man is expelled as it were out of paradise, that is, out of the blessed light of righteousness into death and damnation[1]." Thus much saith Augustine touching the cause of sin.

Sin is repugnant to the law of God.

But here we must especially note in the definition of actual sin the very property or difference, whereby this action is discerned from all other actions, and whereby the most proper note of sin is made manifest. This action therefore, even as all sins else do, doth directly tend against God's law. But what the law of God is, I have in my former sermons at large declared. Verily, it is none other but the very will of God. Now the will of God is, that man should be like unto his[2] image, that is, that he should be holy, innocent, and so consequently saved.

This will of his did God express, first by the law of nature, then by the law which he writ in two tables of stone, and lastly by the preaching of the holy gospel. Now those three tend all to one end, to wit, that man should be holy, innocent, and so consequently saved. And whatsoever things are done of men, either in thought, word, or deed, against that holy law of God, they both are, and are called, actual sins. Therefore in the judging or esteeming of men's sins, the law of God must be only looked unto; for the things that are not contrary to God's law are not sins: neither hath any man authority to make new[3] laws, for the transgressing whereof men should be counted sinners. That glory belong-
[Psal. li. 4.] eth to God alone, to whom David crieth: "To thee alone have I sinned, and against thee have I wrought wickedness." Neither is it any part of our office to take upon us by our own

[1 Nam tria sunt quibus impletur peccatum; suggestione, delectatione, et consensione. Suggestio, sive per memoriam fit, sive per corporis sensus, cum aliquid videmus aut audimus, vel olfacimus, vel gustamus, vel tangimus. Quo si frui delectaverit, delectatio illicita refrænanda est: velut cum jejunamus, et, visis cibis, palati appetitus assurgit, non fit nisi delectatione; sed huic tamen non consentimus, si eam dominantis rationis jure cohibemus. Si autem consensio facta fuerit, plenum peccatum erit... Tria ergo hæc, ut dicere cœperam, similia sunt illi gestæ rei, quæ in Genesi scripta est, ut quasi a serpente fiat suggestio et quædam suasio; in appetitu autem carnali, tanquam in Eva, delectatio; in ratione vero, tanquam in viro, consensio: quibus peractis, tanquam de paradiso, hoc est, de beatissima luce justitiæ in mortem homo expellitur.—Id. Tom. IV. fol. 248. col. 3, 4.]

[2 id est divinæ, Lat. omitted; that is, to the divine.]

[3 new, not in Lat.]

judgments to determine which be the smallest and which the greatest sins. For which of us would think, that it were sin to say to his brother, "Thou fool?" And yet the Lord in the gospel pronounceth it to be sin: who in the same gospel also affirmeth, that we "shall give account for every idle word at the latter day of judgment." Very rightly therefore saith St Augustine in his second book *De Bapt. contra Donatistas*, capit. 6: "In esteeming of sins let us not bring in deceitful balances, wherein to weigh both what we list and as we list, after our own mind and phantasy, saying, This is heavy, and that is light: but let us bring in the weights of God's holy scriptures, as out of the secret treasuries of the Lord, and thereby let us weigh what is heavy, and what is light; nay rather, let not us weigh them, but acknowledge and so accept them as they are weighed by the Lord[4]."

[Matt. v. 22; and xii. 36.]

The kinds and sorts of sins.

And although this might seem to be sufficient, as that which hath sufficiently declared the nature of actual sin; yet will we more at large consider the sundry sorts or kinds and differences of sins. The Stoics were of opinion that all sins were equal: whom perhaps Jovinian following (as the patriarchs of heresies are by Tertullian said to be philosophers[5]) is written to have affirmed the very same with them, as is extant in St Augustine's catalogue of heretics[6]. The holy scripture teacheth us that God is just: whereupon we do conclude, that all sins therefore are not equal; for we see that God, as he is a just judge, doth punish some sins more sharply than other some. For in his gospel the Lord saith:

That all sins are not equal.

[4 Non afferamus stateras dolosas, ubi appendamus quod volumus et quomodo volumus, pro arbitrio nostro dicentes, Hoc grave, hoc leve est: sed afferamus stateram divinam de scripturis sanctis, tanquam de thesauris Dominicis, et in illa quid sit gravius appendamus; imo non appendamus, sed a Domino appensa recognoscamus.—August. Opp. Tom. VII. fol. 80. col. 3. Par. 1531.]

[5 Sane et sibi præstitit aliquid Materia, ut et ipsa cum Deo possit agnosci, coæqualis Deo, imo et adjutrix: nisi quod solus eam Hermogenes cognovit, et hæreticorum patriarchæ philosophi.—Tertull. adv. Hermog. cap. 8. Tom. II. p. 68. ed. Semler. Hal. Mag. 1828. Also de Anim. cap. 3. Tom. IV. p. 185.]

[6 A Joviniano quodam monacho ista hæresis orta est ætate nostra, cum adhuc juvenes essemus. Hic omnia peccata, sicut Stoici philosophi, paria esse dicebat, &c.—Aug. de Hæres. No. 82. Tom. VI. fol. 7. col. 1.]

[Matt. xxiii. 14.] "Woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! which devour widows' houses under the pretence of long prayer: therefore shall you receive the greater damnation." And [Matt. x. 15.] again; "It shall be easier," saith the Lord, "for the land of Sodom in the day of judgment, than for the city" that rejecteth the preaching of the gospel. Likewise in the eleventh of Matthew he saith: "It shall be easier for Tyre and Sidon in the day of judgment, than for you." To Pilate also he [John xix. 11.] said: "The man that delivered me to thee hath the more [Luke xii. 47, 48.] sin." Again: "The servant that knew his master's will, and prepared not himself, neither did according to his will, shall be beaten with many stripes. But he that knew not, and did commit things worthy of stripes, shall be beaten with few stripes."

Sins increase by degrees and circumstances.

To proceed now, sins do arise by steps, and increase by circumstances. For first, there is a hidden sin, contained in the very affection or desire of man. But I have already told you, that affections and desires are of two sorts; to wit, natural affections, which are not repugnant to the law of God; of which sort are the love of children, parents, and wife, and the desire of meat, drink, and sleep: although I know and do not deny but that sometimes those affections are defiled with the original spot. Again, there are carnal desires or affections in men, directly contrary to the will of God. Those affections are nourished and do increase by vain thoughts and carnal delights increasing in thy bosom; and at last they break out into the sin of the mouth, yea, after that, to the deed-doing, or actual sin itself. As for example: Thou lustest after another man's wife, and settlest the lust in the bottom of thy heart, still delighting thyself with vain cogitations, while thou callest to mind her passing beauty and lineaments of body, and dost by thy often and vehement imagination both delight and set thyself on fire; and not being content herewithal alone, thou ceasest not to lie at[1] her, whom thou lovest, with words and writings to spot her chastity; and, if occasion serve thee, thou dost by thy deed-doing defile her, and also dost reiterate the sin which thou hast once committed; and lastly, laying aside the fear of God's plague and the shame of the world, thou dost daily frequent it, and openly use it. Seest thou here, by this example, how one and the same sin

[1 solicitas, Lat.]

doth increase by degrees, and doth still require a sharper punishment, according to the greatness and enormity of the crime? Verily, the Lord in the gospel after St Matthew confirmeth this, and saith: "Ye have heard how it was said to them of old, Thou shalt not kill: Whosoever killeth shall be in danger of judgment. But I say unto you, That whoso is angry with his brother unadvisedly[2] shall be in danger of judgment: and whosoever shall say unto his brother, Racha, shall be in danger of a council: but whosoever shall say, Thou fool, shall be in danger of hell-fire." In these words of the Lord's thou hearest first the differences of sins, as anger, the tokens of angry minds, and open scoldings, which do for the most part end in open fightings; and then thou hearest that, as the sin increaseth, so the greatness and sharpness of the punishment is still augmented. It was therefore no unapt or silly distinction that they made in actual sin which said, that there is one sin of the thought, another of the mouth, and another of the deed; which they did again divide into certain kinds and sorts: reducing them again partly into *Scelera*, and partly into *Delicta*. [Matt. v. 21, 22.] Scelera and delicta.

Scelera are those heinous crimes which are conceived and committed of set purpose and pretended malice: of which sort are those especially which are called the crying sins, as murder, usury, oppression of the fatherless and widows, sodomy, and the withheld hire of the needy labourer. For touching murder, the voice of the Lord in Genesis saith: "The voice of thy brother's blood crieth unto me." And in the twenty-second of Exodus he saith: "If ye vex the fatherless and widows, and they cry to me, I will hear them and slay you." The word of God doth with bitter quips bate usury and utterly condemn it. The sin of the Sodomites ascended up to heaven, requiring vengeance to light upon the villanous beasts[3]. And James the apostle saith: "Behold, the hire of the labourers which have reaped down your fields, which hire of you is kept back by fraud, crieth; and the cries of them which have reaped are entered into the ears of the Lord of sabaoth." To these sins other men do also annex those seven principal vices, pride or vain-glory, anger, envy, sloth, covetousness, gluttony, and lechery. Yea, they make these the seeds and first beginnings of all sins and wickedness, Peccata clamantia. [Gen. iv. 10.] [James v. 4.] The seven principal vices, commonly called the seven deadly sins.

[2 unadvisedly, not in Lat.] [3 to light—beasts, not in Lat.]

and therefore do they call them the principal sins; as is to be seen in the Sentences of Peter Lombard[1].

Moreover they call those sins *delicta*, which are committed of infirmity or unwittingly; to wit, when the good is forsaken, and duty to God or man neglected, by a certain kind of idle sluggishness; where peradventure are to be numbered the sin of ignorance, the sin called *alienum*, and the sin of unwillingness: although even they also are oftentimes made both heinous crimes and detestable offences.

Peccatum alienum, another's sin, is when another is made to sin by our means, as ye shall hereafter perceive.

The sin of ignorance.

Ignorance is said to be of two sorts: the one is natural and very ignorance, which springeth of original sin; the other is affected or counterfeit, which riseth of a set purpose and pretended malice. The natural ignorance is a disease, a fault, and a sin; because it springeth of a poisoned original, and is a work of darkness, as it appeared above by the testimony of the apostle St Paul[2]. Verily St Augustine in his third book *De Libero Arbitrio*, cap. 19, saith: "That which every one by ignorance doth not rightly, and that which he cannot do though he willeth rightly, are therefore called sins, because they have their beginning of the sin of free-will. For that precedent did deserve to have such consequents. For as we give the name of tongue, not to that member only which moveth in the mouth while we speak; but even to that also which followeth upon the moving of that member, to wit, the form and tenour of words which the tongue doth utter; according to which phrase of speech we say, that in one man there are divers tongues, meaning the Greek and the Latin tongues; even so we do not only call that sin which is properly called sin (for it is committed of a free will wittingly), but that also which followeth upon the punishment of the same[3];" of which I have said somewhat before.

[1 Præterea sciendum est septem esse vitia capitalia vel principalia, ut Greg. super Exod. ait: scilicet, Inanem gloriam, Iram, Invidiam, Acidiam vel Tristitiam, Avaritiam, Gastrimargiam, Luxuriam.—Lombard. lib. Sent. Lib. II. distinct. 42. fol. 221. Par. 1575.]

[2 See page 394.]

[3 Nam illud quod ignorans quisque non recte facit, et quod recte volens facere non potest, ideo dicuntur peccata, quia de peccato illo liberæ voluntatis originem ducunt. Illud enim præcedens meruit ista sequentia. Nam sicut linguam dicimus non solum membrum, quod movemus in ore dum loquimur, sed etiam illud quod hujus membri motum consequitur, id est, formam tenoremque verborum, secundum

Other do cloak their ignorance with that saying of the Lord in the gospel: "If I had not come and spoken unto them, they had wherewithal to cloak their sin," or they should have had no sin. For hereupon they infer: Therefore they to whom nothing hath been preached are free from blame and accusation of sin. But the Lord said not so. For first, he spake of their pretended colour[4], and not of their innocency; and every pretence is not just and lawful. He said, I confess, "they should have had no sin:" but he addeth presently, "Now have they nothing to cloak their sin withal." Secondarily, he doth not universally acquit the ignorant from all kind of sin, but from the sin of rebellion only: for St Augustine upon John saith: "They have an excuse not for every sin; but for this only, that they believed not in Christ, because he came not unto them. For all, which neither have heard nor do hear, may have this excuse, but they cannot escape condemnation. For they that have sinned without law, shall perish without law[5]." And Paul also, in the first to Timothy, the first chapter, saith: "I thank him because he hath counted me faithful, putting me into the ministery; who was before a blasphemer, and a persecutor, and an oppressor: but yet I obtained mercy, because I did it ignorantly, in unbelief." Lo, here the apostle saith that he obtained mercy because he sinned through ignorance: this ignorance he deriveth of unbelief, and attributeth to it most filthy fruits. [John xv. 22.]

Furthermore we call that false and counterfeit ignorance, which is of very malice feigned by obstinate and stubborn

quem modum dicitur alia lingua Græca, alia Latina; sic non solum peccatum illud dicimus, quod proprie vocatur peccatum, libera enim voluntate et ab sciente committitur; sed etiam illud quod jam de hujus supplicio consequatur necesse est.—August. Opp. Tom. I. fol. 145. col. 3. Par. 1531.]

[4 prætextu, Lat.]

[5 Domino donante respondeo, Habere illos excusationem, non de omni peccato suo, sed de hoc peccato, quo in Christum non crediderunt, ad quos non venit, et quibus non est locutus . . . Restat inquirere, utrum hi qui priusquam Christus veniret in ecclesiam ad gentes, et priusquam evangelium ejus audirent, vitæ hujus fine præventi sunt seu præveniuntur, possunt habere hanc excusationem? Possunt plane, sed non ideo possunt effugere damnationem. Quicunque enim sine lege peccaverunt, sine lege peribunt.—Id. Expos. in Evang. Joan. Tract. LXXXIX. Tom. IX. fol. 94. col. 3, 4.]

people: as if thou, when a thing displeaseth thee[1], shouldest say, that thou dost not understand it; or if, when thou mayest, thou wilt not understand it. Such is the ignorance that was in the Jews, the professed enemies of God's grace in Christ[2]. For Paul saith: "I bear them witness that they have a zeal of God, but not according to knowledge. For being ignorant of God's righteousness, and seeking to set up their own, they were not subject to the righteousness of God." For the Lord in the gospel said to the Pharisees, when they demanded if they were blinded also; "If ye were blind, ye should have no sin: but now ye say, We see; therefore your sin abideth."

[Rom. x. 2, 3.]

[John ix. 40, 41.]

Peccata aliena, others' sins.

The sins called *aliena* are not those which we ourselves commit, but those which other men do, yet not without us; to wit, while we allow, help forward, persuade, command, wink at, give occasion, or do not resist or gainsay them, when we may. The apostle Paul forbiddeth Timothy to lay hands on any man hastily, nor to communicate with other men's sins. Therefore to give an unfit man orders, and to place him in the ecclesiastical ministery, is that kind of sin which we do call another's sin: for to thee is worthily imputed what unseemliness soever is committed against God and his church by the ignorance of the man whom thou hast so ordained. They sin another's sin, which offer violence, and do by torments and threatenings compel men to deny the truth, or to commit some heinous offence. For the denial of the truth is *peccatum alienum*, another's sin, to him which compelleth the denier to renounce it; and therewithal to the same man his own sin, in respect of himself, is impiety, tyranny, sacrilege, and murder, for causing the other to renounce the truth.

[1 Tim. v. 22.]

Both these sins are referred to the compeller, the one in respect of the man compelled, the other in respect of the compeller himself.

Where, by the way, we are well admonished, that of sins some are wilful, and some unwilful or enforced.

Peccatum voluntarium et involuntarium.

They call that the unwilful sin, which is committed either by another man's enforcing, or else by our own ignorance. Therefore that which is done neither by compulsion, nor by ignorance, is concluded to be the voluntary or wilful sin.

Again, of enforced sin they make two sorts; whereof they call one absolute, the other conditional. Now they think that the absolute violent sin is, when it lieth not in us either to do or not to do, but when it cometh from some other man,

[1 thee, not in Lat.] [2 in Christ, not in Lat.]

without the consent of him to whom the violence is offered: even as if the wind should drive us to any place unlooked for; or if the king's officers do perforce compel thy hands to offer incense to idols, while thou to thy power resistest, and dost deny it so far as thou canst. In such a case they acquit the man, so compelled, from all blame, punishment, and reproach[3].

Now touching the second kind of violent sin, which they call conditional, they think that it riseth upon sundry causes. But that we may not stick too long upon this point, we do simply say: the unwilful or violent sin either hath, or hath not, the consent of him which is compelled. If he give his consent, as for example, either to the renouncing of the evangelical truth which he hath hitherto professed, or to the committing of other grievous and horrible crimes, then is not the man compelled void of blame. For neither can the fear of death, nor torments, be an excuse for him. Choose death rather than to deny the truth, to commit any heinous crime, or to be compelled to consent to a wicked and horrible sin[4]. If thou shalt rather choose to die than to do a filthy deed, the tyrant shall not enforce or compel thee against thy will. He may indeed kill thee: but to compel thee to do evil against thy will he is not able; for by dying thou confessest the truth, and by dying thou declarest that thou wilt not do that which, while thou livest, they do exact of thee. And by that means they neither overcome nor compel thee; but are themselves overcome and compelled to see and have trial of that which grieveth them full sore. Antiochus Epiphanes did what he might to have polluted the holy bodies of the Maccabees with the use of unclean and forbidden meat: but they, choosing rather to die than by living to be defiled, did by dying overcome the tyrant, and could not be compelled. And verily it is a thing received and approved among all professors of sound religion, that death and all extremities whatsoever must sooner be tasted than any thing committed which is by nature filthy and repugnant to religion.

See Augustine, de Mendacio ad Consentium, cap. 9 and 10, &c.

[2 Mac. vii.]

To proceed now; if consent be not given, but mere and unavoidable violence is offered to a godly man, (for here we make a difference betwixt him that upon compulsion doth

[3 laude et vituperatione, Lat.; praise and blame.]

[4 Aug. de Mend. ad Consentium, 9. and 10. Tom. IV. fol. 3. col. 4. and fol. 4. col. 1, 2.]

yield to do wickedness, and him which by compulsion cannot be brought unto it[1];) that violence spotteth not his uncorrupt and holy mind. As for example; if a godly man, having his feet bound and arms fast pinioned, be perforce brought into an idol temple, and there compelled to be present at their detestable sacrifice; or if an unspotted virgin or honest matron be in the wars or barbarous broils villanously abused, without their consent to the deed-doing, and cannot have leave rather to die untouched than so to be undecently handled, she is, assure yourselves, unspotted before the face of God. For very wisely said St Augustine: "Not to suffer unjustly, but to do unjustly, is sin before God[2]." *Lib. de Libero Arbitrio*, III. cap. 16. Again, *De Mendacio ad Consentium*, cap. 7, he saith: "That which the body, where lust went not before, doth violently suffer ought rather to be called vexation than corruption. Or if all vexation be corruption, yet all corruption is not filthy; but that corruption only which lust hath procured, or whereunto lust hath consented[3]." Again, in his first book *De Civitate Dei*, capit. 18, he saith: "Where the purpose of the mind remaineth constant, by which the body is sanctified, there the offered violence of another's lust taketh not from the body the purposed holiness, which the constant perseverance of the party's own chastity doth still retain[4]." Much more like to this hath he in the same place, and also in the sixteenth, nineteenth, and twenty-eighth chapters of the same book, &c.

Mad men's death is unwilful, and therefore to be construed to the best.

No man must hasten his own death.

So also we must think the best of the unwilful death of men beside their wits, that in their madness kill themselves. For otherwise it cannot be found in the canonical books of holy scripture, that God did either give leave or commandment to us mortal men to kill ourselves, thereby the sooner

[1 discernimus hic inter eum qui coactus malum facit, et qui patitur, Lat.]

[2 Non enim injuste aliquid pati, sed injuste aliquid facere, peccatum est.—August. Opp. Tom. I. fol. 144. col. 4. Par. 1531.]

[3 Quod enim violenter non præcedente libidine patitur corpus, vexatio potius quam corruptio nominanda est. Aut si omnis vexatio corruptio est, non omnis corruptio turpis est, sed quam libido procuraverit, aut cui libido consenserit.—Id. Tom. IV. fol. 3. col. 3.]

[4 Proposito animi permanente, per quod etiam corpus sanctificari meruit, nec ipsi corpori aufert sanctitatem violentia libidinis alienæ, quam servat perseverantia continentiæ suæ.—Id. Tom. V. fol. 8. col. 4.]

to obtain immortality, or to avoid imminent evil. For it must be understood that we are forbidden so to do by the law which saith, "Thou shalt not kill:" namely since he addeth not, "thy neighbour;" as he did in another precept, where he forbiddeth to bear false witness. (For because he nameth not thy neighbour, he doth in that precept include thyself also[5].) Therefore is the doctrine of Seneca to be utterly condemned, which counselleth men in misery to despatch themselves, that by death their misery may be ended[6]. And St Augustine, disputing against them that do therefore murder themselves because they will not be subject to other men's filthy lusts[7], doth say: "If it be a detestable crime and a damnable sin for a man to murder himself, as the truth doth manifestly cry that it is; who is so mad to say, Let us sin now, lest peradventure hereafter we happen to sin; let us now commit murder, lest hereafter perhaps we fall into adultery? If iniquity have so far the upper hand, that not innocency but mischief is most set by, is it not better by living to hazard the chance of an uncertain defloweration in time to come, than by dying to commit a certain murder in the time present? Is it not far better in such extreme times of calamity to commit such a fault as by repentance may be forgiven, than to do such a sin whereby no time is left to repent in? This have I said because of those wilful men and women, which, to avoid not others' but their own sin, lest perhaps under another's lust they should consent to their own being stirred up, do think that they ought to rid themselves from it by shortening their lives. But far be it from a christian mind, which trusteth in our God and with a settled hope doth stay on him as on his surest aid; far be it, I say, from such a mind to yield to any pleasures of the flesh unto the consenting to filthiness. But if the concupiscential disobedience, which dwelleth yet in our mortal members, is against the law of our will stirred up or moved by a law of her own; how much rather is it without blame in the body of him that consenteth not, if it be without blame in the body of him that

[5 This explanation is the translator's.]

[6 Si pugnare non vultis, licet fugere.—Senec. de Provident. cap. 6. In his Comment. in Matth. chap. xvi. 25. Lib. VII. p. 613, Bullinger's reference on this topic is to Senec. ad Lucil. Ep. 71.]

[7 et peccent, Lat. omitted; and commit sin.]

sleepeth[1]!" Thus much out of Augustine: now do we return to our purpose again.

Sins hidden and manifest.

To proceed therefore: they divide actual sins into hidden or private, and into manifest or public sins. Those hidden sins are not such as are hidden from men, being known to none but God alone; of which sort is hypocrisy and the depravation of man's disposition; but such as are not utterly without witnesses, although they be not openly known and made manifest to all men. For on the other side the manifest and public sins are committed with the knowledge and offence of the whole church. And these verily are of both the greater, and those the lighter, because they touch the church and procure the offence of many men[2]: touching which the apostle speaketh in the fifth chapter of the first epistle to Timothy.

Sins mortal and venial.

But the most vulgar and apt distinction of actual sin, which doth in a manner contain in itself all the other kinds and parts thereof, is that wherein it is called either mortal or venial sin[3]. They think that mortal sin is every sin which is committed of an unfaithful person; and that venial sin is

[1 Veruntamen si detestabile facinus et damnabile scelus est etiam seipsum hominem occidere, sicut veritas manifesta proclamat; quis ita desipiat, ut dicat, Jam nunc peccemus ne postea forte peccemus; jam nunc perpetremus homicidium, ne forte postea incidamus in adulterium? Nonne, si tantum dominatur iniquitas, ut non innocentia sed potius peccata eligantur, satius est incertum de futuro adulterium quam certum de præsenti homicidium? Nonne satius est flagitium committere, quod pœnitendo sanetur, quam tale facinus ubi locus salubris pœnitentiæ non relinquitur? Hæc dixi propter eos vel eas, quæ non alieni sed proprii peccati devitandi causa, ne sub alterius libidine etiam excitatæ suæ forte consentiant, vim sibi qua moriantur inferendam putant. Ceterum absit a mente christiana, quæ in Deo suo fidit, in eoque spe posita ejus adjutorio nititur; absit, inquam, ut mens talis quibuslibet carnis voluptatibus ad consensum turpitudinis cedat. Quod si illa concupiscentialis inobedientia, quæ adhuc in membris moribundis habitat, præter nostræ voluntatis legem, quasi lege sua, movetur; quanto magis absque culpa est in corpore non consentientis, si absque culpa est in corpore dormientis!—August. de Civ. Dei, Lib. I. cap. 25. Opp. Tom. v. fol.11. col. 2, 3.]

[2 Et hæc (i. e. publica) quidem sunt graviora, illa autem (i. e. privata) leviora, quod videlicet attinet homines et multorum offensionem, Lat.]

[3 Aquinat. prim. sec. par. Summæ. quæst. 88. fol. 148, &c. Par. 1615.]

every sin that is done of a faithful man. I do simply and according to the scriptures suppose, that all the sins of men are mortal; for they are done against the law or will of God. But death is due to sins; for the prophet crieth: "The soul that sinneth shall die itself;" and the apostle saith: "The reward of sin is death." Yea, and deadly sins do take the name of death. To this now do belong these testimonies of the apostle: "This ye know, that every fornicator, or unclean person, or covetous person, which is a worshipper of idols, hath none inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and God." The same sentence, being again rehearsed[4] in the fifth to the Ephesians, is again to be found in the fifth to the Galatians, and the fifth and sixth chapters of the first to the Corinthians.

[Ezek. xviii. 20.] [Rom. vi. 23.] [Eph. v. 5; Gal. v. 19—21; 1 Cor. v. 11; vi. 9, 10.]

But the sins which are of their own nature mortal are through grace in the faith of Jesus Christ made venial; because they are through Christ forgiven by God's great favour and mercy. And therefore the apostle in the sixth chapter to the Romans did not say, "Let not sin be in your mortal body;" but, "Let not sin reign in your mortal body, that ye should obey to it through the lusts thereof." And again; "There is therefore no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus, which walk not after the flesh, but after the spirit." And again; "Brethren, we are debtors, not to the flesh, to walk after the flesh. For if ye live after the flesh, ye shall die: but if by the spirit ye shall mortify the deeds of the flesh, ye shall live." Therefore there is sin in our body always so long as we live; but by grace it is not imputed unto death: and they to whom it is not imputed, do by all means endeavour to walk after the spirit, and not after the flesh: and yet they do very oftentimes slip and fall; which falls and slippings nevertheless, together with that infirmity[5] of mortal men, are counted sins,—I mean sins pardonable and not to be punished eternally.

[Rom. vi. 12; viii. 1, 12, 13.]

Now to mortal sins is that sin especially to be referred, which is called the sin against the Holy Ghost; which some do not without a cause suppose to be most properly called mortal sin: of which I will speak, when first I have somewhat briefly answered to certain questions that do depend upon this argument.

First of all here is demanded, Whether that sin or disease, which after baptism remaineth in infants, be sin in very

Whether that the sin remaining in

[4 edita, Lat.; being rehearsed.] [5 cum morbo illo sontico, Lat.]

infants after baptism is a sin or no.

deed? Now it is manifest, that concupiscence remaineth in them that are baptized; and that concupiscence is sin; and therefore that sin remaineth in them that are baptized: which sin, notwithstanding, is through the grace of God in the merit of Jesus Christ not imputed unto them. So did St Augustine resolve this knot in the first book *De Peccatorum Meritis et Remissione*, cap. 39, where he saith: "In infants verily it is so wrought by the grace of God, through the baptism of him that came in the likeness of sinful flesh, that the flesh of sin should be made void. And yet it is made void so, not that the concupiscence which is spread and bred in the flesh, while it liveth, should of a sudden be consumed, vanish away, and not be; but that it should not hurt him now being dead, in whom it was even at his birth. For it is not given in baptism to them of more years, that the law of sin which is in their members contrary to the law of their mind should utterly be extinguished and not be at all; but that all the evil, whatsoever is said, done, or thought of man, when with his captive mind he served that concupiscence, should be utterly wiped out, and so reputed as though it never had been done[1]." Thus much hath Augustine.

Whether the virtuous works of the heathen are sins, or no?

Another question is, Whether those works, that the Gentiles do, which have a shew of virtue and goodness, are sins, or else good works? It is assuredly true, that God even among the Gentiles also had his elect. Now so many such as were among them were not without the Holy Ghost and faith. Therefore their works which were wrought by faith were good works, and not sins. For in the Acts of the Apos-

[Acts x. 2, 4.] tles mention is made, that the prayers and alms-deeds of Cornelius the centurion were had in remembrance before God; and the same Cornelius is said to have been a devout man and fearing God: whereupon I infer that he was faithful; whose faith afterward is made fully perfect, and upon whom

[1 In parvulis certe, gratia Dei, per baptismum ejus qui venit in similitudine carnis peccati, id agitur, ut evacuetur caro peccati. Evacuatur autem, non ut in ipsa vivente carne concupiscentia conspersa et innata repente absumatur et non sit; sed ne obsit mortuo quæ inerat nato... Nam nec grandibus hoc præstatur in baptismo... ut lex peccati quæ inest in membris, repugnans legi mentis, penitus extinguatur et non sit; sed ut quicquid mali ab homine factum, dictum, cogitatum est, cum eidem concupiscentiæ subjecta mente serviret, totum aboleatur, ac velut factum non fuerit habeatur.—August. Opp. Tom. VII. fol. 141. col. 3.]

the gift of the Holy Ghost is more plenteously bestowed. Moreover the worthy deeds of the heathens are not to be despised nor utterly contemned; for as they were not altogether done without God, so did they much avail to the preserving and restoring of the tranquillity of kingdoms and commonweals. And therefore did the most just Lord enrich certain excellent men and commonweals with many and ample temporal gifts; for upon the Greeks and many Roman princes he bestowed riches, victories, and abundant glory: and verily, civil justice and public tranquillity was in great estimation among many of them. Other received infinite rewards, because they did constantly and manfully execute the just judgments of God upon the wicked rebels and enemies to God. Neither is it to be doubted but that the Lord granted that invincible power to the Roman empire under Octavius Augustus and other Roman princes, to the end that by their strength he might break and bring down the invincible malice of the Jewish people, and so by the Romans revenge the blood of his Son, his holy prophets, and blessed apostles, which had been shed by those furious and blasphemous beasts. Note here, that[2] immediately after the subversion of Hierusalem the Roman empire began to decline. Now let us return to the matter again.

Whether the good works of the saints are sins or no?

Lastly they do demand, Whether the good works of the saints and faithful ones be sins or no? Verily, if thou respectest our corruption and infirmity, then all our works are sins, because they be the works of us which are ourselves not without filthy spots; and therefore the works which be wrought by us cannot be so perfect as otherwise they ought to be in the sight of God. And yet the very same works, for the faith's sake in us and because we are received into the grace of God, and that therefore they are wrought of us which are now by grace the sons of God, both are indeed and also called good[3]. For to this end tendeth that saying of the apostle: "With the mind the same I, or even I, do serve the law of God; but with the flesh the law of sin." [Rom. vii. 25.] Lo here, one and the same apostle, even being regenerate, doth retain in himself two sundry dispositions; so that his very work, working in divers respects, is both sin and a good work also. For inasmuch as in mind he serveth God, so far forth he doth a good work; but insomuch as he again did serve the law of

[2 Certe, Lat.; unquestionably.] [3 and also called, not in Lat.]

the flesh, therein his work is not without a spot. For he himself a little before in the same seventh chapter said: "I find, when I would do good, that evil (παράκειται, that is to say) is present with, by, and in me[1]:" which evil undoubtedly, making always a shew of itself in all our words, works, and thoughts, doth cause that the work which is done of us, when we are regenerate, cannot be so pure as God's justice doth look that it should be. By the grace therefore and the mercy of God it is reputed and esteemed as pure.

[John xiii. 10.] Hereunto now doth that sentence of our Lord in the gospel after St John belong, where he saith: "He that is washed hath no need save to wash his feet, but he is clean every whit." For if he be clean every whit, what need hath the clean to wash his feet? But if his feet must be washed, how then is he clean every whit? And yet these sayings are not repugnant betwixt themselves; even as also that saying is not, where we say that good works[2] are sins. For according to the plentifulness and imputation of God's grace and mercy we are clean every whit, being throughly purged from all our sins, so that they shall not condemn us; and yet, for because there is always in us the law of sin which sheweth itself in us[3] so long as we live, therefore our feet, that is, those evil motions and naughty lusts of ours, must be resisted and to our power repressed. Finally, we must acknowledge that we ourselves[4] and our very works are never without an imperfection; and therefore consequently, that all our works and we do stand in need of the grace of God. These questions being thus resolved, we are now come to expound the sin against the Holy Ghost.

Of the sin against the Holy Ghost. The sin against the Holy Ghost is a perpetual blaspheming of the revealed and known[5] truth; to wit, when we against our conscience falsely revolting from the known truth do without intermission both inveigh and rail against it. For blasphemy is the evil speech or despiteful taunts wherewith we inveigh against or slander any man, by casting forth wicked and detestable speeches against him, whereby his credit and estimation is either cracked or utterly disgraced. We do therefore blaspheme the magistrates, our elders[6], and other good men, when we do not only withdraw our obedience

[1 insideat, vel adjaceat, aut inhæreat ac insitum sit, Lat.]
[2 opera fidelium bona, Lat.] [3 in membris nostris, Lat.]
[4 ex nobis ipsis, Lat.] [5 agnitæ, Lat.] [6 parentes, Lat.]

and the honour due unto them, but do also with reproachful words bait them, not ceasing to call them tyrants, blood-suckers, wicked heads, and odible guides[7]: but we do especially blaspheme God, when we detract his glory, gainsay his grace, and of set purpose do stubbornly contemn and dispraise his truth revealed unto us and his evident works declared to all the world.

What blasphemy is properly.

Every sin verily is not blasphemy, but all blasphemy is sin; for because it tendeth against God and his will, it is sin: but therewithal this property more and singularity it hath, that it doth also despise God and speak reproachfully against his works. Many do sin against the doctrine of the truth, because they do either neglect and not receive the truth; or else because, when they have received it, they do not reverence and set it forth[8]: but these kind of men, though they be sinners, do yet not deserve to be called blasphemers. But if they begin once with taunts and quips to mock the doctrine which they neglect, calling it heretical, schismatical, seditious, and devilish, then may they rightly be termed blasphemers.

Wherefore the property of the sin against the Holy Ghost is, not only to revolt from the truth, but also against all conscience to speak against the truth, and with flouts incessantly to overwhelm both the very work and most evident revelation of the Lord. For the conscience, being by the evidence of the revelation or work of the Holy Ghost convinced, suggesteth or telleth them that they ought not only to temper themselves from reproachful speeches, but that they ought to do another thing too, that is, that they ought to yield to the truth and give to God his due honour and glory. But now, to exclude this inspiration of the Holy Spirit, to reject and overwhelm it with stubborn falsehood, flat apostasy, wicked contradiction, and perpetual contempt, is flatly to commit sin against the Holy Ghost. And this verily taketh beginning of original sin, and is nourished and set forward by devilish suggestions, our perverse affections, by indignations, envy, hope or fear, by stubborn and self-wilful malice, and lastly by contumacy and rebellion.

The beginning of this sin against the Holy Ghost.

But now the course of the matter requireth to hear what the Lord said in the gospel concerning this sin. In the twelfth

[7 execrandos, Lat.; *guides* is the translator's addition.]

[8 ornant, Lat.]

of Matthew he saith: "Every sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven unto men; but the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost shall not be forgiven unto men. And whosoever speaketh a word against the Son of man, it shall be forgiven him; but whosoever speaketh against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, nor in the world to come." The same sentence of our Saviour is thus expressed in the third chapter of St Mark's gospel:[1] "All sins shall be forgiven unto the children of men, and blasphemies wherewith soever they shall blaspheme: but he that speaketh blasphemy against the Holy Ghost hath never forgiveness, but is in danger of eternal damnation." In the twelfth chapter after St Luke these words in a manner are uttered thus: "Whosoever speaketh a word against the Son of man, it shall be forgiven him; but unto him that blasphemeth the Holy Ghost it shall not be forgiven." In these words of the Lord we have here mention made of blasphemy against the Son of man, and of blasphemy against the Holy Ghost: of which that against the Holy Ghost is utterly unpardonable, but that against the Son of man is altogether venial. Blasphemy against the Son of man is committed of the ignorant, which are not yet enlightened; and doth tend against Christ, whom the blasphemer doth think to be a seducer, because he knoweth him not. Such blasphemers the word of the Lord doth manifestly testify that Paul himself before his conversion and a great part of the Jews were; for upon the cross the Lord prayed, crying: "Father, forgive them; for they wot not what they do;" and the apostle Paul saith: "If they had known the Lord of glory, they would not have crucified him." Whereupon St Peter in the Acts, speaking to the Jews, saith: "I know that ye did it through ignorance; now therefore turn you, and repent, that your sins may be wiped out." Acts iii. But the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost is said to be a continual fault-finding or reproach against the Holy Spirit of God; that is, against the inspiration, illumination, and works of the Spirit. For when he doth so evidently work in the minds of men that they can neither gainsay it nor yet pretend ignorance, and that for all this they do resist, mock, despise, and continually snap at the truth[2], which they in their

Blasphemy against the Son of man.

[Luke xxiii. 34.]

[1 Cor. ii. 8.]

The blasphemy against the Holy Ghost.

[1 Amen, dico vobis, Lat. omitted. Verily, I say unto you.]

[2 revelationem aut operationem illam Spiritus, Lat.; that revelation or working of the Spirit.]

consciences do know to be[3] most wholesome and true[4]; in so doing they do blaspheme the Holy Spirit and power[5] of God. As for example: the Pharisees, being by most evident reasons and unreprovable miracles convinced in their own minds, could not deny but that the doctrine and works of our Lord Jesus Christ were the truth and miracles of the very God[6]; and yet, against the testimony of their own consciences, they did of mere envy, rebellious doggedness, and false apostasy, continually cavil that Christ did all by the means and inspiration of Beelzebub[7], the devil. And little or nothing better than the Pharisees are those which, when they have in these days once understood[8] that the very truth and assured salvation are most simply and purely set forth in Christ, do notwithstanding forsake it, and allow of the contrary doctrine, condemning and with mocks[9] railing upon the sound and manifest truth; yea, and that more is, they cease not to clap their hands and hiss at it, as a damnable heresy.

Sin against the Holy Ghost is no remitted.

As this sin is of all other the filthiest, so is it not venial, but utterly unpardonable; for in the gospel the Lord hath expressly said: "It shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, nor in the world to come." Which sentence in St Mark is thus pronounced: "He hath never forgiveness, but is in danger of eternal damnation." The cause is manifest. For it is unpossible without faith to please God; without faith there is no remission of sins; without faith there is no entrance into the kingdom of God. But the sin against the Holy Ghost is mere apostasy and flat[10] rebellion against the true faith which the Holy Ghost by his illumination doth pour into our hearts: which illumination these untoward apostates do incessantly call darkness; they name it a mere seduction, and do with taunts blaspheme it openly. Therefore this sin is never forgiven them; for they tread under foot the grace of God, and do despise and make a mock of the way which leadeth to

[3 optimam, Lat. omitted; the best.]

[4 contra conscientiam propriam, Lat. omitted; against their own conscience.]

[5 and power, not in Latin.]

[6 divina esse, Lat.; were divine.] [7 Beelzebub, not in Latin.]

[8 evangelica doctrina, Lat. omitted; by the preaching of the gospel.]

[9 contra animi sui sententiam, Lat. omitted; against the judgment of their mind.]

[10 perstans, Lat.; obstinate.]

salvation[1]. Wherefore St Paul in the tenth to the Hebrews saith: "If we sin willingly after we have received the knowledge of the truth, there remaineth no more sacrifice for sins, but a fearful looking for of judgment and violent fire, which shall devour the adversaries." Now, I pray you, what is it to sin willingly? Forsooth, to sin willingly is not to sin through infirmity, or oftentimes to fall into one and the same sin: but to sin willingly is with a most stubborn contempt to sin; as they are wont to do, which wittingly and willingly do reject and spurn at the grace of God, not ceasing to make a mock of the cross and death of Christ, as though it were foolish and not sufficiently effectual to the purging of all our sins: for to such there is prepared none other sacrifice for sins. And such the apostle calleth the adversaries, that is, the contemners and enemies of God. And therefore the same apostle in the sixth chapter of the same epistle saith: "It cannot be that they which were once lighted, and have tasted of the heavenly gift, and were become partakers of the Holy Ghost, and have tasted of the good word of God, and the powers of the world to come, and they fall away, should be renewed again into repentance; crucifying to themselves the Son of God afresh, and making a mock of him." He speaketh not here of every fall of the faithful; but of wilful and stubborn apostasy. For Peter fell and was restored again through repentance: which happeneth to more than Peter alone; for all sinners are through repentance daily restored. But unrepentant Judas is not restored, because he was a wilful[2] apostate. Mockers and blaspemers are not restored through repentance, because they do obstinately stand against the known verity, and cease not to blaspheme the way by which alone they are to be led unto eternal life. Therefore those places of St Paul do make never a whit for the Novatians[3], but do expound to us the nature and envenomed force of the sin against the Holy Ghost.

St John the apostle and evangelist, disputing of this sin in his canonical epistle, saith: "If any man see his brother sin a sin which is not unto death, he shall ask, and he shall give him life for them that sin not unto death. There is a sin

[1 John v. 16–18.]

[1 ad gratiam, Lat.] [2 pertinax, Lat.]

[3 Their peculiarity was, that they would not receive into the church persons who after being baptized fell into the greater sins. They did not, however, exclude them from all hopes of eternal salvation.—Mosheim, Eccles. Hist. Book I. Cent. 3. Part 2. ch. 5. § 18.]

unto death; I say not that thou shouldest pray for it[4]. All unrighteousness is sin: and there is a sin not unto death. We know that whosoever is born of God sinneth not; but he that is begotten of God keepeth himself, and that evil toucheth him not." St John here maketh mention of two sorts of sins: the one unto death, that is, mortal and unpardonable, for which we must not pray, that is to say, prayers cannot obtain pardon for it. That sin is contumelious reproach against the Holy Ghost, revolting apostasy, and incessant mocking of the gospel of Christ; for in the gospel after St John we read: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, if a man keep my sayings, he shall not see death for ever;" and again: "If ye believe not that I am, ye shall die in your sins." And apostasy in very deed is iniquity, and a purposed and perpetual sin; for what is more sinful or unjust than to strive against[5], and make a mock of[6] the known verity? The other sin is venial, not unto death; the which, of what sort it is, St John declareth when he addeth: "We know that every one which is born of God sinneth not." Now that saying must not be so absolutely taken, as though he sinned not at all: but we must understand, that he sinned not to death; for otherwise the very saints are sinners, as it is evident by the first chapter of this epistle. Furthermore, that which doth immediately follow in John maketh manifest that which went before: "He that is begotten of God," saith he, "keepeth himself;" that is, he standeth stedfastly in the known truth, and taketh heed to himself, that that evil[7] touch him not; that is, that he entrap him not, stir him up against God, nor retain him in rebellion. Thus much have I hitherto said touching the sin against the Holy Ghost[8], which Augustine did in one place call final impenitency, which doth follow upon apostasy, blasphemy, and contempt of the Holy Ghost, or of the word of truth revealed by the Holy Ghost.

[John viii. 52, 24.]

Or endless unrepentance.

[4 ut roges, Lat.; and Erasmus.]

[5 indesinenter, Lat. omitted: without ceasing.]

[6 medium ostendere digitum, is the proverb which Bullinger uses.]

[7 malus ille, Lat.]

[8 Peccatum in Spiritum Sanctum est finalis impœnitentia: de qua dicit Aug.—Gratian. Decret. Par. II. caus. 1. quæst. 1. cap. 81. p. 673. Par. 1583. The treatise De Ver. et Fals. Pœnitent. in which occur the words,—Soli peccant in Spiritum Sanctum, qui impœnitentes existunt usque ad mortem,—is considered to be spurious.]

Of the just and certain punishment of sinners.

And although I have already, in the handling of original sin and sin against the Holy Ghost, partly touched the effects of sin; yet to conclude this treatise withal, I will briefly shew you somewhat touching the just and assured punishment that shall be laid upon sinners. For in the definition of sin I said, that sin brought upon us the wrath of God with death and sundry punishments: of which in this place I mean to speak. It is as manifest, as what is most manifest, by the scriptures, that God doth punish the sins of men, yea, that he punisheth sinners for their sins. For many places in the scriptures declare, that God is angry and grievously offended at the sins of mortal men. David crieth: "The Lord loveth the just; as for the wicked and violent, his soul doth hate them. Upon the ungodly he shall rain snares, fire and brimstone, storm and tempest; this shall be their portion to drink. For the righteous Lord loveth righteousness: with his countenance he doth behold the thing that is just." In like mannner Paul saith: "The wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and uncleanness of men, which withhold[1] the truth in unrighteousness." And what may be thought of that moreover, that the wrath of God for the sins of us men would be by no means appeased[2] but by the death of the Son of God? Wherein verily the excellency of the great price of our redemption doth argue the greatness and filthiness of our sin. To all which we may add, that the good Lord, who loveth mankind so well, would not have overwhelmed us[3] with so many pains and exceeding calamities, had not our sin been passing horrible in the sight of his eyes. For who[4] can make a full beadrow of all the calamities of miserable sinners[5]? The Lord for our sins absenteth himself from us[6]. But if the sun be out of the earth, how great are the mists and cloudy darkness in it? If God be away from us, how great is the horror in minds of men? Here therefore, as punishments due to sinners, are reckoned the tyranny of Satan, a thousand torments of conscience, the death of the soul, dreadful fear, utter desperation[7], innumerable calamities of body and of our

[Psalm xi. 5—7.]

[Rom. i. 18.]

The plague of sins.

[1 detinent, Lat.; withhold, Tyndale 1525, and Cranmer 1539.]
[2 peccata mortalium non potuerunt expiari, Lat.]
[3 genus humanum, Lat.]
[4 paucis et in transcursu, Lat. omitted; in few words and by the way.]
[5 peccatorum pœnas, Lat.] [6 alienatur, Lat.]
[7 et infandi dolores, Lat. omitted; and griefs not to be described.]

other faculties, which Moses the servant of God doth at large rehearse in the twenty-sixth of Leviticus and the twenty-eighth chapter of Deuteronomy. And now, since new sins are daily scourged with new kinds of punishments, what end, I pray, is any man able to make, if he should go about to reckon them all[8]?

The Lord doth punish sinners justly.

It is not to be doubted, verily, but that the Lord doth punish sinners justly; for he is himself a most just Judge. And for because it is a mad man's part to doubt of the justice, omnipotency, and wisdom of God; it followeth therefore consequently, that all religious and godly men do hold for a certainty[9] that the punishments, which God doth lay upon men, are laid upon them by most just judgment.

But how great and what kind of punishment is due to every fault and several transgression, belongeth rather to God's judgment to determine, than for mortal men too curiously to inquire. Whereupon St Augustine, *Tracta. in Joan.* 89, saith: "There is a great diversity of punishments, as of sins; which how it is ordained, the wisdom of God doth more deeply declare, than man's conjectures can possibly seek out, or utter in words[10]." He verily which in his law given to men gave this for a rule, "According to the measure of the sin, so shall the measure of the punishment be[11];" being himself most equal and just, doth not in judgment exceed measure. Abraham, in the notable communication had with God which is reported in the eighteenth of Genesis, doth among other things say: "Wilt thou destroy the just with the wicked? That be far from thee, that thou shouldest do such a thing, and slay the righteous with the wicked, and that the righteous should be as the wicked. That is not thy part, that judgest all the earth: thou shalt not make such judgment[12]." Hereunto also belongeth that notable demonstration, which the Lord useth toward[13] Jonas being angry

[8 quis, oro, pœnarum finis, aut quis genera omnia commemoret? Lat.]

[9 imo compertissimo, Lat. omitted; yea, for a most assured certainty.]

[10 Tanta est autem suppliciorum, quanta diversitas peccatorum; quæ quomodo sese habeat, altius indicat sapientia divina quam conjectura scrutatur aut effatur humana.—August. Opp. Tom. IX. fol. 94. col. 4. Par. 1531.]

[11 Deut. xxv. 2. cf. Vol. I. page 356, note 4.]

[12 Gen. xviii. 23, 25. Vulgat.]

[13 prophetam, Lat. omitted; the prophet.]

with the Lord because of his judgments: for he sheweth that he hath justly a care of the infants, yea, and of the cattle in Ninive. The place is extant[1] in the fourth chapter of the prophecy of Jonas. Let us therefore stedfastly hold, that the Lord, when he punisheth, doth injury to no creature which he hath made. Here therefore the disputations and questions come to an end, wherein men are wont to demand, Why the Lord doth sometimes use so sharp torments towards infants or sucklings? or why he rewardeth temporal offences with eternal punishments? "For the Lord is righteous in all his ways, and holy in all his works." As David did most truly witness, where as in another place he saith: "Thou art just, O Lord, and thy judgment is right." Blessed is he that stumbleth not here, and doth not murmur against the Lord.

[Psalm cxlv. 17.]

[Psalm cxix. 137.]

God punisheth most sharply.

But if it so happen that the Lord at any time do somewhat long defer the judgment and punishment, we must not therefore think that he is unjust, because he spareth the wicked, and sharply correcteth[2] his friends and their vices. Let us rather lay before our eyes the evangelical parable of the rich glutton and poor silly Lazarus: for Lazarus, though he was the friend of God, did notwithstanding die for want of food: the other, though he was God's enemy, did spend his life in dainty fare and pleasures, and felt none ill. But hearken after this life what their judgment was. Abraham saith to the rich glutton: "My son, remember that thou in thy lifetime receivedst thy good, and Lazarus likewise received evil: but now he rejoiceth, and thou art tormented." Therefore if the godly be at any time afflicted in this present life, they shall be abundantly rewarded for it in the life to come: but if the wicked be spared in this world, they are more grievously punished in the world to come: for God is just, and[3] rewardeth every man according to his merit.

[Luke xvi. 25.]

If hereafter therefore thou shalt chance to see the wicked live in prosperity, think not thou by and by that God is unjust: suppose not that his power is abated[4]; and say not that he sleepeth, and seeth them not. For that saying of the prophet, which is also used by the apostle Peter,

[1 notus est, Lat.; is well known.]

[2 interim, Lat. omitted; in the mean season.]

[3 ergo, Lat.; and therefore.]

[4 Noli putare Deum esse ficulneum, Lat. See Erasmi Adag. Chiliad. p. 95. col. 2. *auxilium infirmum.*]

is assuredly true: "The eyes of the Lord are upon the just, and his ears open unto their prayers;" again: "The eyes of the Lord are upon them that do wickedness." We must in such a case fortify our minds with the just examples of God's judgments, gathered together out of the holy scriptures. Let us consider that the world was destroyed with the general deluge, when God had in vain a long time looked after repentance. Let us remember that Sodom, Gomorrha, and the cities adjacent thereabout, were burnt with fire sent down from heaven. Let us think upon Egypt, how it was stricken with divers plagues[5], and the inhabitants drowned in the Red sea. Let us call to mind the things that happened by the holy and just judgment of God to the Amorhites, the Chanaanites, the Amalechites, and the very Israelites, first under their judges, then under their kings. Their measure at last was fully filled. Neither did they at any time despise God and his word, but were at the last paid home for their labour. They never sinned and went scot-free long[6]. The history of Paulus Orosius, yea, the universal history of all the world, do minister unto us innumerable examples like unto these, declaring the certainty of God's judgment[7]. Let us think[8] that God doth not therefore allow of sins, because he is slack in punishing them; but let us persuade ourselves, that he by the prolonging of punishment doth of his unmeasurable goodness both look and stay for the repentance and conversion of miserable sinners. For in the gospel the Lord biddeth not to cut down the barren fig-tree, because he looked to see if it would bring any fruit the next year following. The apostle Paul saith: "Despisest thou the riches of his goodness and patience and long-sufferance; not knowing that the goodness of God leadeth thee to repentance? But thou, after thy stubbornness and heart that cannot repent, heapest unto thyself wrath against the day of wrath and declaration of the righteous judgment of God, which will reward every man according to his deeds: to them which by continuing in well-doing seek for glory, and honour, and immortality, eternal life; but unto them that are contentious, and do not obey the truth but obey unrighteousness, shall come indig-

[Psal. xxxiv. 15, 16; 1 Pet. iii. 12.]

Examples of God justly punishing.

God's long forbearing.

[Luke xiii. 6—9.]

[Rom. ii. 4—9.]

[5 primum—deinde, Lat. omitted; first, and then.]
[6 Cf. above, pages 6—13.]
[7 justi judicii, Lat.; the justice of God's judgment.]
[8 præterea, Lat. omitted; besides.]

nation and wrath, tribulation and anguish, upon every soul of man that doth evil." This, I say, let us firmly hold, and with this let us content ourselves, not grudging to see[1] the wicked live long in prosperity without pain or punishment. The holy, just, wise, and mighty God knoweth best what to do, how to do, why and when to do everything conveniently. To him be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

Why sins are plagued with temporal punishments, considering that they are forgiven by the grace of God.

To this belongeth also, that God doth as well afflict the good as the bad; touching which I spake at large in the third sermon of this third Decade[2]. Now here therefore some there are which demand, why God doth with divers punishments persecute those sins which he hath already forgiven to men? For he forgave Adam his sin, and yet he laid on him both death and innumerable calamities of this life beside. To David we read that the prophet Nathan said, "The Lord hath taken thy sin away:" and yet immediately after the same prophet addeth: "The sword shall not depart from thy house." To this we answer simply, that these plagues, which are laid on us before the remission of our sins, are the punishments due to our sins; but that after the remission of our sins they are conflicts and exercises, wherewith the faithful do not make satisfaction for their sins, which are already remitted by grace in the death of the Son of God; but wherewith they are humbled and kept in their duty, having an occasion given of the greater glory.

[2 Sam. xii. 13, 10.]

And here I will not stick to recite unto you, dearly beloved, St Augustine's judgment touching this matter in his second book *De Peccatorum Meritis et Remissione*, chap. 33, and 34, where he saith: "Things, the guilt whereof God absolveth or remitteth, to the end that after this life they should do no harm, and yet he suffereth them to abide unto the conflict of faith, that by them men may be instructed and exercised, profiting in the conflict of righteousness," &c. And presently after: "Before forgiveness, they are the punishments of sinners; but after remission, they are the conflicts and exercises of just men." And again, after a few words more he saith: "The flesh which was first made was not the flesh of sin, wherein man would not keep righteousness among the pleasures of paradise. Wherefore God ordained that, after his sin, the flesh of sin being increased should endeavour with pains and labours

[1 Rather, however the wicked may, &c. utcunque, Lat.]

[2 See above, page 75.]

to recover righteousness again. And for that cause Adam being cast out of paradise dwelt over against Eden, that is, against the place of pleasures; which was a sign that with labours, which are contrary to pleasure, the flesh of sin was then to be inured, which, being in pleasures, kept not obedience before it was the flesh of sin. Therefore even as those our first parents, by living justly afterward, whereby they are rightly thought to be by the blood of Christ delivered from utter punishment, deserved not yet in that life to be called back again into paradise; so also the flesh of sin, although when sins are forgiven a man live righteously in it, doth not presently deserve not to suffer that death which it drew from the propagation of sin. Such a like thing is insinuated to us in the book of the Kings concerning the patriarch David; to whom when the prophet was sent, and had threatened unto him the evils that should come upon him through the anger of God because of the sin which he had committed, by the confession of the sin he deserved forgiveness, according to the answer of the prophet who told him that that sin and crime was forgiven unto him; and yet those things betided him which God had threatened unto him, to wit, that he should so be humbled by the incest of his son, &c. And what is the cause that they demand not, If God for sin did threaten that scourge, why then, when he had pardoned the sin, did he fulfil that which he threatened? but for because they know (if they demand that question) that they shall rightly be answered, That the remission of the sin was granted to the end the man should not be by his sin hindered to obtain eternal life: but the effect of God's threatening did follow after the remission of the sin, to the end that the godliness of the man might be tried and exercised in that humility. In like manner God hath for sins laid bodily death as a punishment upon the body of man; and after the forgiveness of sins hath not taken it away, but left it in the body to be a mean to the exercise of righteousness[3]." Thus far hath Augustine.

Absolon defiled his father's bed, whereby he saith that David was humbled.

[3 —res, quarum reatum, ne post hanc vitam obsint, Deus solvit, tamen eas ad certamen fidei sinit manere, ut per illas erudiantur et exerceantur proficientes in agone justitiæ... respondemus dicentes, ante remissionem esse illa supplicia peccatorum; post remissionem autem certamina exercitationesque justorum... Caro enim, quæ primo facta est, non erat caro peccati, etc.—August. Opp. Tom. VII. fol. 147. col. 1. 2. 3.]

How the wicked are punished.

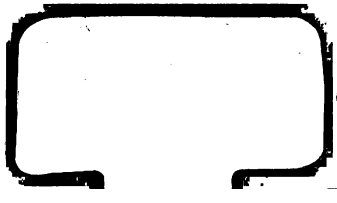
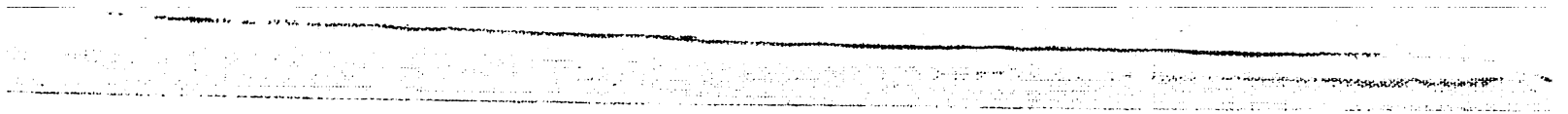
Now as concerning the punishments of the wicked, (if the most just God do in this world touch them with any,) let us know that they be the arguments[1] of God's just judgment, who in this world beginneth to punish them temporally, and in the world to come doth not cease to plague them everlastingly. The wicked, verily, perish through their own default; for God beginneth to whip them in this life, to the end that they, being chastened, may begin to be wise, and turn to the Lord: but they[2], by his chastisement, are the more indurate, and murmur at the judgments of God, converting that to their own destruction which was ordained to have been to their health. For as to them that love God all things work to the best, so to them that hate the Lord all things do work to their utter destruction. This argument might be extended further yet; but for because I have already spoken a great deal to this effect in the third sermon of this third Decade, that which is here left out may there be found; and therefore I refer you to the looking upon that[3]. And so now hitherto touching sin.

I have with somewhat too long a sermon, dearly beloved, by more than the space of two whole hours detained you here. That therefore I may now make an end, let us humbly acknowledge our sins, and meekly cry with prayers unto the Lord, which sitteth in the throne of grace, saying: Have mercy upon us, O Lord, for against thee have we sinned, and do confess our offences. Thy debtors are we; forgive thou us our debts, as we forgive our debtors: and lead us not into temptation: but deliver us from evil. Amen.

The End of the Third Decade of Sermons.

[1 i. e. proofs, evidences.]

[2 non convertuntur ad se percutientem, sed, Lat. omitted; are not turned to him that smiteth them, but, &c.]

[3 See above, page 79.]

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